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RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ENGLAND.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ENGLAND

BY

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"THE ENGLISH AT HOME," "THE DUTCH AT HOME," ETC.

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PREFACE.

If I had followed the advice of the ancients, *ab Jove principium*, the study of Religious Life would have been the first of my essays on England. But various causes have prevented this being the case. I will only mention one: the difficulty of this subject for a foreigner. Still, I was very far from failing to recognise the influence which the faith of a people must exercise on their manners, character, and institutions. It may be surmised beforehand, it is from this point of view alone, and not theologically, that I have taken my stand as an observer. In the principles of the religious Reformation, as proclaimed in the sixteenth century, and still refreshed day by day at the well-spring of free inquiry, are to be found, as I think, the germs of the real Constitution of England.

One fact is calculated to strike me. Both in the Old and New World representative government has

been established—in different grades, it is true—without effort, and as if naturally, in almost all those states which belong to the Reformed Churches; whilst up to the present time nothing of the same kind is to be seen in Catholic nations. Those among the latter who have attained to the enjoyment of constitutional government have only achieved it by severing themselves more or less from their religious traditions. The contest has been a sharp and distressing one, and is still going on. The political conquests in these states rest only on a compromise between faith and reason. A religious order, still exercising a certain sway over the conscience, constantly seeks either to recall or maintain some obsolete class in the state, incompetent for the future to rule over the minds of men. Hence the source of the evil; hence the cause of the antagonistic wrenches by which countries are constantly rent asunder, in the name either of progress or of reaction. Absolutism in matters of faith opposes an eternal obstacle to the freedom of opinions.

England, above all other nations of Europe, has had the unusual good fortune of long back attaching herself to a form of religious doctrines which was not at variance with her social institutions. This is, in my idea, the source of her great prosperity.

Of all the Christian systems, Protestantism is the one which is best suited to constitutional government. On the one hand, it possesses enough of the principle of authority to shed its hallowing influence over the monarchy; and on the other, it leaves sufficient room for the liberty of thought, so as to admit the right of discussion, the principle of independent enterprise, and the intervention of the country generally in the affairs of state.

As every nation is to some extent restricted by its history, its traditions, and its peculiar genius, it has a good right to have an ideal of its own. Thus it has in no way entered into my thoughts to propose for France that type of religious or political institutions which Great Britain has thought proper to choose for herself. But I can fearlessly recommend the wise example which the English have presented to the world at large in throwing aside beforehand, as regards questions of faith, all those obstacles which in material affairs might oppose the development of liberty.

Whilst this book was being written, some grave dissensions have lately broken out amongst the ministers of the Church of England. It is not, on any account, expedient for us to enter into this sacred arena, or to mix ourselves up with the

learned combatants. But perhaps a foreigner may be permitted to offer to both sides a few words of sincere and disinterested advice. If England is tired of her political liberties, if she recoils affrighted from the requirements of modern intellect, simple means are at her disposal to cut the matter short: let her go back to the bygone rites and bygone dogmas which she threw off three centuries ago. In them only will she find an anchor against the waves of progress. If, on the contrary, she has faith in herself and her future; if she wishes to preserve intact that spirit of free inquiry, and of free, individual action, which has been her source of strength in manufactures, science, and political economy; if the contest with the opinions of the age does not intimidate her,—she will take good care not to retrace her steps towards an obsolete system of religion, which, in spite of the disguise under which they seek to cloak it, is, after all, but the spirit of moral servitude.

ALPHONSE ESQUIROS.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Religious life in the country—An English parish—The difference between an English and a French village — The parsonage—Why the Clergyman's residence is sometimes in a state of dilapidation — What is a living? — Origin of the right of patronage—How it happens that the advowson, or right of presentation, is a saleable property, and purchaseable by auction—Who exercises this right?—How does a man become a Clergyman?—The Curate's life—Whom does he marry?—Are the English Clergy paid by the State?—When and how the tithes were commuted—Various sources of income—Poor livings—Sydney Smith—The Clergyman's wife—Various plans for bettering the condition of country Incumbents—Difference between the Rector and the Vicar—Influence of Curates on the agricultural classes—Relations between the Incumbent and the Bishop—Parochial duties of the Clergyman—Life in a parsonage.

One of the characteristic features of England since the sixteenth century has been the possession of a National Church, commonly supposed to have been established by Henry VIII. A great many of our neighbours, however, do not admire the conduct of this king much more than we do, and question

his right to the honour of having uplifted the banner of their faith. Henry VIII. caused a schism, but he did not found a religion. On the contrary, his violent passions, his persecutions, and his self-interested views, only served to injure the cause of the Reformation in Great Britain. The English are wont to turn to more ancient and a thousand times purer sources, when they try to seek out the origin of their system of worship. They will willingly trace up the commencement of their Protestantism to Wycliff, the reformer before the Reformation, the humble priest who was—after his death—judged and condemned for his religious opinions, whose very bones the Council of Constance ordered to be dug up. Wycliff's doctrines spread, like seed carried by the wind, among the Lollards and Hussites in England; and two centuries later, these germs were again blown over to the shores of England by the tempest raised by Luther over all Europe. It would certainly be rash to deny that the triumph of these new ideas was not assisted, on the other side of the Channel, by various political circumstances and by state policy; but would it be right to say that it was a movement impelled by the higher ranks? Every thing, on the contrary, leads us to believe that the religious reformation in England proceeded mainly from the clergy and from the people.

The first divines who revolted against Rome de-

termined above every thing to abolish the principle of *absolutism* in the government of the Church. In its tardiness, and in the long period of its development, their work much resembled the grain of mustard-seed spoken of by the Evangelist. At its beginning it was next to nothing; but as it increased and grew this germ became a great tree, on which the fowls of the air—that is, the liberal thinkers of the period—came to take their rest. After the death of Henry VIII., in the too short reign of Edward VI., these new doctrines much overstepped the limits which a misty policy had laid down for them. All know how much this growing Church was afterwards troubled by the sanguinary reaction under Mary Tudor, the restless despotism of Elizabeth, and the fervid controversies in Charles I.'s time. Next, the transient triumph of the Puritans changed the form of the liturgy, abolished the episcopate, and made over the direction of spiritual matters to the Westminster Assembly, composed of one hundred and twenty divines and thirty laymen. The Restoration, however, soon revived the former Protestant hierarchy; but the Established Church was again rent asunder by terrible divisions. The English too have had their St. Bartholomew's day, when two thousand ministers persisted in abandoning their livings, because of their unwillingness to accept the Prayer-book imposed upon them by authority; and the anniversary of this event, which took place in 1662,

is still celebrated with some bitterness in the Non-conformist chapels.

The Church can hardly be said to have rested on an altogether firm foundation until after the revolution of 1688. The name of the *National Church*, which she still preserves, is intended to intimate that she is held as orthodox by state authority, and that to her alone is legally granted the right of levying tithes and other imposts; also that she is partly maintained out of the public revenue, and subject also in part to state control. Any who refuse to ally themselves to the doctrines and the formularies of this State Church have full and free liberty to embrace any other mode of worship; but they are bound, to a certain extent, to contribute pecuniarily towards the expenses of carrying on the divine service established by law. For a long period besides they were harassed with various civil disabilities, which have nearly all been abolished or modified by various acts of parliament, mostly since the commencement of the present century.

Religious sentiment has lost none of its vigour in England since its separation from the Church of Rome; one would, on the contrary, compare it to a tree which only shoots out the more sturdily for having been lopped. The great movement of the Reformation, while simplifying the external ceremonies of worship, and relaxing in some respect the trammels of dogmatism, has, on the contrary,

tended only to concentrate the aspirations of men towards the ideal. This Church, the child of Protestantism, is firmly based both on the Bible and on definite civil authority, and it occupies no inconsiderable position in the state; but it is in the rural districts, where religion has a more decided influence on the daily life, that we shall find it best to study the organisation of the English parish. The cure of souls, the interests of the national worship, and the education of the people, are all committed to the rector's or vicar's charge; and he therefore exercises a high moral authority in his own house, in the church, and in the schools, and his active influence is considered by all as one of the chief supports of the monarchical government. They are also helped in their labours by certain laymen, who in every thing bring to bear a system of local influence quite worthy the attention of any one seeking to penetrate into the real spirit of English institutions. The parish may be said to bear the same relation to the general construction of the Church as the cell does to the bee-hive.

Several favourable circumstances enabled me to study some of the aspects of religious life in an English village. The hamlet I am speaking of is composed of a group of scattered houses, some standing by the road-side, and some mounting the summit of a little hill, whilst many lie half hidden in the deep and shady lanes. Every thing wears a completely rural

aspect; the clumps of trees, the orchards filling up the intervals between the cottages, and the hawthorn hedges (the resort of the robin), all seem a kind of link between the villa and the farm. As it is a cider country, the apple-trees are weighed down over the fences, covered all over with fruit made rosy on one side by the ripening sun. Few of the inhabitants are to be seen in the village: the men are in the fields; and as to the women, they are far too busy in their cottages to sit and talk at their doors, as our labourers' wives in the south so readily do. The birds round the corn-stacks are more noisy than the women, and their twittering fills up the blank caused by the want of the children's voices, who are shut up during the day in the quiet school. To any one coming from London, the transition from all the noise and smoke to the rural quiet of a scene like this is full of a peculiar charm and soothing sweetness.

One thing which especially distinguishes English villages from ours is, that the former combine all classes of society within a limited circuit. The manor-house of the *squire* stands by itself, an ancient and venerable edifice, surrounded with lofty trees of a hundred years' standing, on which the rooks love to hold their nightly meetings, and to fill the air with their tumultuous cawing. A good rookery, be it remarked, is a great subject of pride with every English gentleman. On the top of the

hill stands a large stone house, inhabited by two ladies of good family, from the windows of which a thoroughly English landscape opens out to the view—the dark-green meadows, whose wavy outlines contrast well with the silvery mist of the evening sky. Other elegant villas, scattered over the neighbourhood, point out by their external appearance the refined habits of those who live in them. This village is situated at more than a hundred miles from the capital, and seems at first sight to realise the ideal of one of the idyls of Gesner; but it is, on the contrary, nothing but a miniature of London set down in the midst of the country.

It is the habit in England of the most important families, instead of shutting themselves up in towns, to distribute themselves in little groups over the country districts. The constant dream of men of business who have made their fortunes is to settle themselves down in some rural neighbourhood, there to lead the lives of country gentlemen, and thus to swell the class of what are called the *county families*, —a rather numerous class, holding a middle place between business people and the nobility. The descendants of these *parvenus* generally continue to live on their estates, which are cultivated and beautified at great expense; and the more fortunate among them very often marry into some of the oldest families of the country, infusing in this way fresh blood into the veins of the landed aristocracy,—so called on

the other side of the Channel because they more belong to the land than the land belongs to them. The church occupies the centre of the village, a symbol, as it were, of the English pastor, who serves as a bond of union between the various elements of a society so imbued with religious influences. In his education and manners he is one of the upper classes; in his evangelical character he is especially the property of the poor; by the whole nature of his sacred charge he belongs in common to all men.

The vicarage, surrounded by walls and gardens, is naturally at a very short distance from the church; the entrance is through a gateway opening on to a lane, which, beginning among the dwellings, soon loses itself among the trees and fields. It is a building which certainly never proceeded, as a whole, from the brain of any one architect, but which has been formed by successive additions, just as the needs of domestic life became more extended and refined. An epitaph inscribed on one of the mossy gravestones in the churchyard tells us that a vicar of this parish, long since deceased, had added to his other merits that of building a kitchen to the parsonage at his own expense. The domestic offices, half hidden by a screen of foliage, the stables, and the coach-house, all seem to indicate a rather later origin than that of the main body of the house. Be that as it may, the whole of the dwelling seems to breathe a quiet air of comfort—nay, even of sober luxury—

which presents a striking contrast to the humble and slovenly abodes of our *curés de campagne*. Clusters of climbing plants cover nearly half of the front of the house; and in the course of time they have shot up so high, so thick, and so vigorously, that it takes all the exertions of an old gardener, perched up on a ladder, either to prune them, or to nail their luxuriant branches to the wall. The other side of the house is fitted up with a long greenhouse, full of beautiful flowers, under the transparent roof of which twine the festoons of the vine, supporting here and there bunches of Muscat grapes.

The centre door opens into the *hall*, a sort of square vestibule, communicating on one side with the drawing-room, and on the other with the dining-room. The vicar works during the day in his library, also on the ground-floor. Folding-doors hide the staircase, which, divided into two branches, leads up to the bed-chambers. The latter are all separate, although joined by a long corridor, and are quite sufficient in number to accommodate the family, and at the same time to enable all the duties of hospitality to be fully exercised. From the windows of the first floor we can see a green lawn by the side of the flower-garden, bordered by lofty trees, among the summits of which the gray church-tower stands out in bold relief; its summit was formerly topped by a weathercock, which has been destroyed by lightning. There is also belonging to the parsonage an excellent

kitchen-garden surrounded by walls, and a couple of large fields, the property of the church, where some sheep are peaceably feeding. On the day I arrived there, these meadows were the scene of a rural fête; flags were floating in the wind, tied at intervals to the branches of the apple-trees; the air resounded with the joyous shouts of the children in the midst of their games; and the grass was, as it were, all blooming with rosy faces animated by activity. They were celebrating the *school feast.*

It must be confessed that all the English parsonages are not like this. There are some which have fallen into a state of dilapidation and decay, which has latterly called forth the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities. In principle, a parsonage is bound to last for ever; it is a spiritual property, which the new incumbent receives as a life-tenant at his induction to the living, and which he is bound to transmit in as good condition to his successor. Spiritual property, however, when it consists of bricks and mortar, is not safer than any other from the injuries of time; and it must at least be often repaired if it is expected to be everlasting. There are some parishes where the income of the incumbent is not at all in accordance with the dimensions of his parsonage; keeping up the house is then a heavy charge upon him; and unless his religious character brings resignation with it, I can easily imagine he would not bless the costly residence that only makes

him the poorer. Is it not an every-day occurrence that the clergyman grows old?—it is the common lot—and unable even to watch over his own interests, he neglects those of his successor. The stones give way by degrees, like the declining strength of the master; the floors tremble under even his uncertain step; the roof sinks over his bowed head; and the whole edifice seems to share the sad decrepitude of its inhabitant.

In a case like this, the successor has a right to bring an action against the last occupant, if he be still alive, or, if not, against his heirs; kindly feelings, however, often prevent such measures being taken. Supposing that he enters upon them, a surveyor is named by each of the interested parties to examine into the state of the premises, and a third is appointed to reconcile any difference of opinion between them. The arbitrator's task, in the present state of the English law, is far from being so easy as one would imagine. A law-suit sometimes follows, which lasts for years, during which two advocates dispute over the ground—or rather over the house—foot by foot, and, by their successive efforts of eloquence, carry by assault the staircase to-day, the windows to-morrow, and then the roof. In any case, it is necessary that the last occupant should have left behind him sufficient means to cover the expenses of repairs; and this is not always the case. In this way, certain parsonages in Great

Britain have fallen into a state of great dilapidation, as has been proved by several official inquiries.

The parsonage forms a part of the clerical emolument, or, as it called, the *living*. To whom, then, it will be asked, do these livings belong? They are generally the property of *patrons*, as they are called here.* It is not very difficult to get at the origin of this right of patronage. Formerly, the nomination of the ministers of worship belonged to the bishop of the diocese; but afterwards, the lord of the manor, or any other great landowner, not satisfied at having built a church at his own expense, would perhaps set apart a portion of his estate, and encumber it with tithes in perpetuity, for the maintenance of a resident priest. The close union of the aristocracy and the clergy is nowhere more strongly marked than in Great Britain, as we may judge by the number of villages in which the church stands within a gunshot of the castle. Still, the fate of the two buildings has often been very different; the castle is in ruins, and almost hidden

* Of 11,728 livings which exist in England and Wales, 1114 are in the hands of the Crown, who presents to them through the medium of the Lord Chancellor; 1853 are distributed by the Archbishops and Bishops; 938 are at the disposal of the various Deans and Chapters; 770 are attached to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the great schools, such as Eton, Winchester, &c.; 931 are given away by the incumbents of the *mother churches* (so called when *chapels of ease* have been detached from them); and the remainder (that is 6092) are held by various individuals who are called patrons.

by ivy and brambles; while the church remains standing in a sort of perpetual freshness, protected by the faith of the inhabitants. A family likeness in the architectural features bespeaks a common origin for both; they are quite, as it were, brother and sister.

In order to encourage the zeal of the lay nobility in building churches and in liberally endowing them, the bishops were in the habit of granting to the founder and his heirs the right of choosing the minister of the parish. Things went on thus when England was Catholic; and the Reformation made but little or no change. The Anglican Church has remained, in its material construction, a branch of feudalism. At the present day, when a living is vacant, three persons play their part in filling it up,—the patron, the clerk, and the bishop. The patron is looked upon as the descendant or the representative of the original founder, and from this title enjoys the privilege of *presenting* to the bishop of the diocese the clerk or clergyman whom he considers fit to occupy the living committed to his charge. This privilege is called the *advowson* (from *advocatio*), because he who exercises it is bound in conscience to protect the interests both of the Church and of the future incumbent. The clerk is the clergyman recommended by the patron. As to the bishop, or ordinary, his part is usually confined to registering in writing the request ad-

dressed to him by the lay guardian of the benefice. He has, it is true, twenty days in which to consider and examine the vouchers of the candidate; strictly, he can even reject him; but in this case he is compelled to state why he rejects him (*quare impedit*). The motives on which his refusal is grounded may afterwards be questioned in the courts of law by either the patron or the rejected clergyman, and the result will ultimately be decided by a jury.

The power, then, of the bishops in all that regards the presentation to livings has nothing discretionary about it; it may be a possible check to the influx of favouritism and to the interested manœuvres of the laity; but it very rarely happens that the ordinary exercises his right of *veto*, and the candidate named by the patron may generally be looked upon as the future incumbent. There are some cases even where the approval of the bishop is not at all necessary. The patron, who, under the circumstances, is generally some nobleman of importance, has the power of giving directly the church and the benefice to the clergyman whom he has himself selected. This is what is called a *donative advowson*.* When the bishop has a right of intervening, he reads

* Most of the English civilians trace back the origin of these *donative advowsons* to the Crown. "The king," say they, "has the right of founding churches and chapels independent of the jurisdiction of the bishop; and he can also, by special favour, transmit this prerogative to any of his subjects."

a written formula to the accepted candidate, and hands to him a deed furnished with the episcopal seal. He then directs the archdeacon, or some other high official in his diocese, to instal the new incumbent in his church and the enjoyment of his rights. This being done, the clergyman becomes what is called in England a *parson* (a minister in right of a *parish*).

In the eyes of the law an advowson constitutes an actual property; it can be left by will, alienated, or sold, either for ever or for a term of years: it can even be seized by creditors in the case of the patron of a living dying in debt. This privilege very often gives rise to another class of transaction. It every day happens that the proprietor of an advowson makes over the *next presentation* to some third party for a sum of money,—that is to say, he gives the right of naming an incumbent when the benefice becomes vacant. There are, indeed, some cures which are thus sold in advance down to the second or third vacancy. This sort of business occasionally figures in the newspapers, in the columns for advertisements. The property in an advowson is, besides, ruled by peculiar laws and some rather curious usages. A child of the tenderest age can present a clergyman to a living in his patronage. Even if he be unable to write, his guardian, or any other person who has dictated his choice, may guide his hand in signing the deed. In any case where the patron becomes afflicted with

mental aberration, the Lord Chancellor exercises the right in his stead,—very often, though, in favour of a member of the patient's family, in the event of one of them happening to be in orders. Female holders of an advowson have quite as much a voice in the matter as the men; and if there are several joint-heiresses of the same right of presentation, and they cannot agree as to the choice of a candidate, they each present in turn, beginning with the eldest.

The power of making rectors and vicars belongs to all sorts of laymen, and some of them perhaps may not be very orthodox; the patron of a living may be a dissenter, a Jew, or even an atheist, but he must *not* be a Catholic. It is, after all, easy enough to see the motive for this last prohibition at a time when the Catholic religion was a source of menace and danger to England. It was feared that the patrons, many of whom belonged to ancient families, might introduce priests of the Romish Church into the benefices, and, in the biblical language of the period, thus throw open the sheep-fold to the wolves.

The exercise of this right of advowson may certainly engender more than one abuse, and even clergymen themselves admit this; we must not, however, forget that in a country where any thing and every thing may be either said or written, the choice of an incumbent is to some extent subject to the sanction of public opinion. Without this

guarantee, many ancient usages would perhaps have long ago disappeared in England; and it is chiefly in this sense that among our neighbours liberty has shown itself as a conservative element. We must also note that this intervention of the lay element in selecting the ministers of the Church permits wealthy people to purchase this right of presentation in order to establish some one of their *protégés*. The right of advowson also is, in a way, the opening through which the younger sons of noble families, and the scions of the aristocracy of money, can make their way into benefices of the Church.

To be in a position to obtain a benefice, it is necessary previously to have been ordained a priest. How then do persons become clergymen in England? Every young man who intends to take orders begins at first by following a university course, and he must attain the degree of bachelor of arts at least. Without this degree he will not, except under peculiar circumstances, find any bishop that will accept him, nor any rector or vicar who would employ him as curate,* and he would certainly make no way in the Church. A good classical education, therefore, is considered as the basis of the priestly training. Besides, a residence in the universities presents many

* It must be understood that in England the ecclesiastical ranks are inverted, if we compare them with those existing in France. The Vicar (or Rector) is the ecclesiastical chief of the parish, whilst the Curate is only a deputy, *curator animarum*.

advantages; a candidate for Holy Orders may have elbowed on the benches of the lecture-room a Byron, a Shelley, or a Stuart Mill; he has lived in the midst of independent minds and unfettered studies. There no moral pressure determines his choice, and he voluntarily embraces a clerical career. He is not like those who have been separated from the world from their infancy, and have learnt to curse the age that they know nothing about, and to dread the mere phantom of society that they only look at through the terrors of their conscience. Up to this point his studies have been nothing but literary; the bishop, however, requires of him, besides his diploma as bachelor of arts, a certificate testifying that he has gone through a course of lectures of the Professor of Divinity at the university. In every thing else there is nothing to distinguish him externally from the other students he associates with, and in his habits he has no resemblance at all to the *séminariste*.

After having taken his degree, the candidate for orders prepares for the bishop's examination. Unless he be a *fellow* of some college, he also looks out for some rector or vicar who will be willing to nominate him as his curate, when he has become one of the clerical body. This rector or vicar then signs a paper which is called a *title to orders*, and on which is specified the amount of the stipend attached to the office. This is usually about 80*l.* per annum; it is not very often, in any case, that the sum exceeds

100*l.* There are some incumbents who do not at all like giving titles in this way, because, in the first place, they are thus obliged to give a trial to quite inexperienced men, and also because a newly-ordained curate is only a deacon during the two first years of his ministry, and cannot therefore administer the Sacrament of Communion, or, as it is called here, the *Lord's Supper*.* Some are found, however, who, having the interests of the Church in view, or for some other reason, will consent to give an apprenticeship, as it were, to the young minister.

Furnished with his university degree and with his title for orders, and also with a certificate of good conduct for the three last years preceding his application, the young candidate now presents himself to the bishop, who examines him in Greek, Latin, and Divinity. If he comes out victorious from the test, he is ordained by the bishop of the diocese as a deacon of the Church, and receives from him a license, empowering him to officiate as a curate for two years, under the direction of the incumbent nominating him. By the expiration of this period he must necessarily have learnt much in his visits to the poor and afflicted; he will have tried his oratorical talents in the pulpit, and will be fully acquainted with all the duties imposed upon him by his vocation.

* The custom in the Church of England is to ordain deacons at not less than twenty-three years of age, and priests at twenty-five at least.

When he wishes to make a further step in the Church, he must again present himself to the bishop of the diocese, and must pass a second examination, with a view of being ordained a priest. This ceremony, like the former ordination, takes place in the cathedral. The ceremonial is grave and imposing; but no idea of a voluntary death or of a renunciation of the world is at all appealed to in the Protestant rites in this service. The new priest is only bound to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the Prayer-book,* and thus engages to believe and profess the doctrines of the Anglican Church.

Now, henceforth endued with the priestly character, the young clergyman more often continues to officiate as curate in a parish. And in this position he very often makes an advantageous marriage. In doing this a young clergyman has more than one advantage over other men: in the first place, he is admitted into the very best society, and there are very few agricultural districts where there are not a good many rich and respectable families within a few miles round. These families exercise hospitality according to the old English traditions, and there are very few great dinners given in which a place at table is not kept for the curate of the parish. Being a bachelor, he lodges in the village just as he can, and

* These Thirty-nine Articles, which contain the profession of faith of the English Reformed Church, were adopted in 1571 by Queen Elizabeth and by Act of Parliament.

his indoor arrangements are generally of the most modest character; but his education and manners will bear comparison with those of any of the upper classes. The link of their works of charity in common soon establishes between him and the young heiresses of the neighbourhood a kind of respectful intimacy, which in many cases may easily hide a more tender sentiment. Besides, he appeals to the heart in its very noblest perceptions; his youth, his eloquence, and his religious zeal, all become involuntary means of fascination with the feebler and more enthusiastic sex. Attachments of this sort are like the "still waters," which, according to the English proverb, "run deep," and at the same time reflect the blue sky above them. Many a young lady among the aristocracy, who would refuse to marry a lawyer or a doctor, would not at all deem it a *mésalliance* if she united herself to a member of the clerical body. By means of marriages thus contracted a portion of the wealth of the upper classes finds its way into the hands of the ministers of the Church.

The married curate generally aspires to becoming a rector or a vicar; but in order to attain his end a number of requisites are necessary. The greater part, unfortunately, never rise above the so-called inferior grade. He who has neither influence, nor powerful recommendations, nor extraordinary personal qualities, will remain a curate all his life, unless he be rich. Those, on the contrary, who have power-

ful interest, or are distinguished in learning, may obtain a living either from the Queen, the bishop, the Universities, or one of the metropolitan Chapters. The others—that is, those who have money—entertain the hope of buying one; they must not, however, do this themselves, or they would render themselves guilty of *simony*. The way it is managed is this: some friend, or a member of their family, buys for them, from the holder of an advowson, the right of the next presentation on the death of the present incumbent.* The value of the living thus indirectly bought depends, as one would imagine, on several conditions; but the contracting parties never fail to take notice beforehand whether the parsonage is in good or bad repair, and to ascertain the annual income derivable from the benefice. The payment is considered in every case as money invested, on which interest is looked for.

The Church of England presents the extraordinary spectacle of a state church which is not paid by the State. She depends upon a very large fund of property, accumulated for ages by the piety of the faithful under the form of dotations. The principal sources of income in a rural living are: the land belonging

* It is easy to suppose that several kinds of fraud might creep into these transactions: the law has therefore sought to resist causes which tended to corrupt the sources of clerical dignities. For instance, the right of presentation cannot be sold after the living has become vacant, nor even during the last illness of the incumbent.

to the parsonage, the *tithes*, the *church-rates*, —these, however, are exclusively devoted to the repairs of the church and the maintenance of divine worship,—the *Easter offerings*, and the *surplice fees*. The tithe is usually the most productive of all these sources of revenue. *Tithe* is a word which will, I fear, sound offensive in French ears. With us the Revolution, and subsequently the *Concordat*, have fundamentally altered the constitution of the Church, without interfering with its doctrines or with the Catholic liturgy. Just the reverse has taken place in England; there the Reformation considerably modified religious dogmas, but for the most part respected the ancient organisation and privileges of the clerical body. Thus we have the phenomenon of a Protestant Church grafted, as it were, upon the institutions of the Middle Ages.

Twenty years ago, however, tithes, under their ancient form, were not a bit more popular on that side of the Channel than on this. As to abolishing them, though, this was not even thought of; they constituted a property belonging to the Church, which was recognised by law, and had been handed down from generation to generation; which also was based on ancient contracts. The English do not deal inconsiderately with titles such as these. It was, however, a clergyman, Dr. Paley; who, being himself struck with the inexpediency of this impost, proposed to commute them. The disturbed state of the Church of

Ireland, where the collection of tithes met with obstinate resistance on the part of the Catholics, determined the success of this measure, which was not definitively adopted until 1838, although it had been recommended since 1832 by committees of both houses of parliament. In each parish of England and Ireland an annual payment, representing the value of the ancient offerings, was substituted for the tenth part of all commodities constituting the large and small tithes. Almost everywhere a mutual agreement between the landed proprietors and the tithe-holders arranged the terms of this commutation; and in any case where the parties interested could not come to an understanding, commissioners intervened to set matters right.

This tax is now settled upon landed property; but it may vary according to the price of corn, reckoning it from the seven last years. In order to avoid all dispute, the Comptroller of Corn-returns publishes every January the average value of a bushel of wheat, barley, and oats during the period fixed by law. Thus the incumbent receives his share of the crop in money and not *in kind*. It is easy to see that this system of fluctuation in the impost introduces some uncertainty into the amount of the rector's or vicar's income. Supposing that the tithes have been commuted for 300*l.* a year, it may nevertheless happen that, in consequence of the variations in the price of corn, a minister may sometimes receive only 260*l.*, and sometimes perhaps 340*l.*

The greater part of the English parsonages have some land attached to them, known under the name of the *glebe*, which the incumbent can either let or farm himself. The church-rates are always appropriated to the maintenance of the sacred edifice. The Easter offerings are a kind of voluntary contribution. Every year at Easter the parish clerk waits upon all the gentry and shopkeepers with a little book, in which, on behalf of the vicar, he asks them to put down their offering. As to the surplice fees, they are made up, as with us, of the sums payable for marriages, burials, &c. All these sources of income joined together make up what is called in England a *living;* for the minister receives no payment properly so called. There is the greatest possible inequality among livings; some are like the promised land, flowing with milk and honey, and others more resemble the dry and unproductive desert.

There are in England more than ten thousand parishes, differing from one another more or less in importance and extent. Every thing shows that there was no plan followed in fixing the boundaries of these ecclesiastical districts, but that they were formed just as it happened, according to the caprice of the original recipients of the endowment. In them the traces of the feudal *régime* still remain indicated in the distribution of the soil; and the limits of the parish often coincide with the boundaries of the manor. The zeal, generosity, and pecuniary means

of noble families—indeed various accidental causes—have thus fixed the value of the living; that is, the provision devoted to the maintenance of the clergyman. It has been calculated that the average of these livings does not amount to more than 300*l.* a year each; but as the incomes of some of the incumbents mount much above this sum, others must naturally receive much less.* In the latter case the clergyman is often much embarrassed; and he is really all the poorer because he is compelled to conceal his poverty.

In England every position imposes its obligations. How often have I known gentlemen who ruined themselves, or perhaps deprived themselves of the

* There are some livings—not many, it is true—which do not bring in more than 50*l.* to 100*l.* a year. Certain ecclesiastical districts, as, for example, that of St. Mark's, Horselydown, have neither parsonage, nor school, nor any public service whatever, and yet its population amounts to 2920 inhabitants. Other districts, on the contrary, enjoy a revenue which they ought to have no right to. At Merston, between Gravesend and Rochester, there is a parish of which the living, in the patronage of the Lord Chancellor, is estimated to be worth 90*l.* a year. The church has long since disappeared, and since 1455 there have been no inhabitants. This sinecure is generally granted to some neighbouring incumbent, whose income is thereby increased. The clergyman who lately succeeded to the living of Merston came to take possession. It was on a Sunday, and a large tent was pitched on the site of the former church, in which a congregation of 600 persons assembled, no doubt drawn together by the novelty of the spectacle; and the singing of psalms rose up in the midst of the solitude. This religious service was, without doubt, both the first and the last which will be celebrated at Merston during the life of the present incumbent.

necessaries of life, in order to sacrifice to appearances! The vicar's wife must be dressed like a lady. A practised eye might, indeed, discover a difference between her toilet and that of the squire's or a rich rector's wife; but still it is necessary that the common people should notice this difference as little as possible. His children, on the other hand, must be clean and well-dressed, as gentlefolks' children are; and as to himself, he is obliged to wear a white neckcloth and a good black cloth coat; in one word, he must present the respectable exterior of a clergyman. Add to all this the keeping up of the parsonage, which must not be allowed to get into bad repair. When, as is often the case, the clergyman finds the balance unequal between his income and his expenses, he generally tries to better his condition by some means or other. He is prohibited by law from going into business; but he is allowed, with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, to farm for seven years a portion of land not exceeding eighty acres. This was the resource of the father of Oliver Goldsmith, the Dr. Primrose of the *Vicar of Wakefield*, who was, at the same time, both farmer and priest. Others receive young people in their houses as boarders, for the purpose of instruction. There are some also who write for the magazines and reviews.

However poor the clergyman may be, his family generally receive a liberal classical education. Having nothing better to bequeath to them, he bounteously

imparts to them all that he himself possesses. His daughters even do not escape this clerical influence, and in the quiet retreat of the parsonage they sometimes become perfect models of scholarship. Some of them are even accomplished Greek scholars, and perhaps help their fathers in translating for the London booksellers some of the ancient authors of the primitive church. I must say that this profound education, resulting from retirement and the strict routine of an orderly life, is not very conducive to helping on the marriages of the daughters of the clergy and their establishment in the world. Many a young man of no very deep intellectual power will shrink from the idea *d'épouser les saints pères.* In spite of the richest flaxen tresses, the most fascinating blue eyes, and the slenderest white hand, all urging their apologies for the treasures of ancient eloquence, a clergyman's daughter without fortune very often finds herself wedded to Greek all her life.

The struggle of some clergymen with all the harsh necessities of life does not always shut out every indication of gaiety in these Christian philosophers. The Reverend Sydney Smith, one of the most charming of English humorists, is never so amusing as when he relates, as cheerfully as possible, all his personal tribulations. The parsonage of his own building; his furniture roughly put together from a stock of deal bought by chance; his old carriage, which came out fresh again every year, owing to the repairs necessary to

prevent its tumbling to bits; the stumpy gardener's wife, formed by nature like a milestone, of whom he made a butler:—all these things vividly depict the life of a poor country vicar in some districts in England.*

In a case like this the clergyman's wife exercises much influence on the well-being of the household. Busy as a bee and not less frugal, she acts as minister in the indoor life of the parsonage by the same title as her husband does in the church. She is the instructress of the younger children, and in every way helps to eke out the slender resources of the living. And then with how much better grace than her husband does she sometimes yield to the mortifying necessity of having to accept the bounty of a benefactor! Whilst the former, once an Oxford or Cambridge man, tries to hide his deprivations under the haughty gravity of a stoical mind, how willingly does she glean up in the Church's field any of those sheaves which are left by the hands of the rich! After all is said, is she not a mother, and must she not think of her children?

Several systems have been proposed to do away with this inequality in livings, at least in part. It will be sufficient if we mention those that really exist. A fund known under the name of *Queen Anne's Bounty*, formed by an ecclesiastical impost on the first-fruits of the land, was instituted, even before

* See *Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, by his daughter, Lady Holland; with a selection from his Letters.

the time of Queen Anne, to augment the resources of certain livings. The administrators of this fund (the *Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty*) are mostly dignitaries of the Church of England, and are in the habit of making an addition to the incomes of small livings under 200*l.* a year. Various societies, based upon a system of voluntary contributions, also come to the help of the clergy who are in need.* An Ecclesiastical Commission has been formed within the last few years, to open up in the Church itself a new source of income, and thus to ameliorate the position of country incumbents.

In every diocese, the bishops, deans, and chapters have been the possessors from time immemorial of large property, consisting chiefly of landed estates. Following an ancient custom, these estates have been let for a certain number of lives, usually three. The first of this series of tenants paid at his coming-in a considerable sum of money, known under the name of a *fine;* and a small annual sum was afterwards paid as rent during the whole remainder of the lease. In this way, those members of the great

* One of these Societies lately celebrated its 211th anniversary, under the presidency of the Prince of Wales. This was the *Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.* This Society assists every year 1250 persons, of whom 712 are either the widows or orphans of clergymen. There is also the *Poor Clergy Relief Society*, the Secretary of which, the Rev. W. G. Jervis, published in 1861 a touching report, full of well-authenticated facts, as to the extreme misery of 400 clergymen belonging to the Church of England.

ecclesiastical bodies who were living at the time when a contract like this was entered into had an unfair preference given them, to the detriment of their successors. It is true that the latter might enjoy the same advantage, if they were fortunate enough to outlive the expiration of the lease; but some time was naturally necessary to wipe out three men's lives. In order to distribute the revenues of the corporation more equally among the successive members, it was at last decided that whenever any of the tenants should chance to die, another one might be substituted, who should pay an agreed fine at his entering on the tenancy.

Such was the system of life-tenancy under which most of the landed estates of the Church were managed when the Commission entered upon its labours.

Struck with the inexpediency of this plan, and with the too small profit which the Church drew from her property, the Commission proposed to take in hand the ecclesiastical estates, and to give in exchange property free from all liability, and averaging in its annual income that which the chapters had received under the system of tithes. This alteration promises great advantages; and the surplus income is to be applied to the augmentation of small livings. It is said that the resources of the English clergy will be so far improved by this method of dealing with them, that no country incumbent will receive less than 300*l.* a year.

The clergy is represented in the rural districts by the rector, the vicar, and the curate. The rector is a clergyman who receives all the tithes of a parish. The vicar, as appears from the derivation of the word, is one who acts in the place of another—*vicarius*. At a long-distant period, certain patrons of the Church, who had it in their own power to nominate a rector, yielded up this right in favour of monasteries, or some other religious communities. The monks, instead of naming a rector, made a profit of it, by having the duties of the cure performed by one of their own body, or by some other paid minister, and thus appropriated the income of the benefice for their own establishment. It has come to pass, in this way, that many churches in England have been stripped of their income by the convents. In some cases the bishops interfered, and compelled the religious bodies no longer to content themselves with make-shifts who could any day be dismissed, but to appoint a fixed minister, and to allot to him a portion of the tithes. Such is the origin of vicars. In cases like this, the convent did not fail to keep its double character of patron and rector, and in both these characters to take the lion's share; and this is why so many vicarages are at the present time so slenderly provided for.

At the time of the Reformation, all the property of the monastic orders was seized upon by the Crown, and this confiscation also extended to the

beneficial interests that they might have in various parishes. Some of this property was returned to the clergy, but a still greater portion was sold to different persons. A class was thus formed in England of *Lay Impropriators.* These are, in fact, the rectors of the parish; and the vicars perform for them all the spiritual duties of the cure, receiving in return that portion of the tithe which the rector pleases to allow them.

The curate, on his side, is the assistant of the rector or vicar; but he cannot be dismissed by either of them. He is, to a certain extent, licensed by the bishop at the nomination of the rector, and the agreement with him can only be broken by episcopal authority. There generally exists, however, a private arrangement between the contracting parties, by which the curate binds himself in honour to retire in case the rector finds that he does not suit. Although much worse paid, the curate is sometimes more eloquent than his superior, and is also more popular in the parish. The labouring men are in general rather timid of the rector; he is too rich for them. The young curates, on the contrary, still in full possession of all the freshness of clerical zeal, sympathise generally with the poorer classes, and work nobly for their good. Amidst all the confusion of doctrine stirred up by an age of doubt and free inquiry, they busy themselves more readily in good works than in religious controversy. "Action,

in any case," is their motto, and they are exercising a real influence over the people.*

One feature which distinguishes almost all the grades in the Anglican hierarchy is, that the members of them do not depend entirely on the Church. A great number of rectors and vicars are the sons either of noble parents, of rich merchants, or of landed proprietors, and have personal property either of their own, or through their wives; and this naturally gives them a kind of independence. It is almost necessary that this should be the case; for how else could they afford to carry on the works of charity in their parishes, and to establish schools—the expense of which in great measure falls upon them—and also to provide for a curate? Country vicars, taking one with another, possess private means equal to the income that they derive from their livings. It can scarcely be said, therefore, that the Church maintains the clergy; for at least, in a great measure, it is the clergy who maintain the Church. A position like this, so uncommon in other countries, has tended much to develop the social and political influence of the ministers of religion in England. A clergyman will freely mingle in all the pleasant entertainments of the neighbourhood; for he is not cut

* The name of *curate* is also given—but in this case it is called *perpetual* curate—to the minister of a church in which no vicarage has ever been established, or to the minister of a chapel founded since the establishment of the parish by the benevolence of some pious soul.

off from the upper classes by celibacy, the prejudices of religious caste, or by any great inferiority of fortune. Instead of humbly sitting down at the table of some rich man, and eating a dinner he is not able to offer a return for, he, on the contrary, can invite to his own house baronets, lords, and judges; thus disarranging the order of rank in the equality of intellect. His talents, which thus count for capital in England, give him a right to be listened to; for many country clergymen are both learned and well acquainted with literature; many of them might have chosen some other career, and might easily have made themselves famous by the efforts of their genius.

The position of the English incumbent is not at all subject to the caprice of the bishop, as is the case with our *Curés de campagne*. He has bought his appointment, or some one else has bought it for him, which amounts to the same thing; it is, therefore, vested in him as a kind of property; and it is well known what a respect our neighbours have for vested rights. According to some people, this respect has been pushed rather too far, and has been injurious, in some instances, to the discipline of the Church. The bishop has scarcely any means of displacing an incumbent unfaithful to his duties: he can, it is true, proceed against him in the ecclesiastical courts; but little except scandal results from this course; and it is seldom that he obtains any actual redress. A liti-

gation of this sort took place some years ago in England. A clergyman, backed up by the lord of an ancient manor, had for some years led a not very edifying life. After having in vain exhausted both remonstrance and advice, the spiritual chief of the diocese determined to have recourse to legal means. The bishop spent a great deal of money; the noble friend of the clergyman spent still more; and the end of it all was, that after some very long proceedings, the clergyman got off, if not exculpated, at least with impunity.

It may sometimes happen, on the other hand, that the conduct of an incumbent may not give rise to any cause for censure, but yet that he may entertain opinions contrary to those held to be orthodox in the Anglican Church; in this case, also, it is very difficult to touch him. The fact is, that at the time of the Reformation, the Anglican Church, having just passed from under the authority of the Pope into the hands of the Sovereign, became so subject to the civil authorities, and so mixed up with the administration of secular matters, that she finds herself, even at the present day, quite disarmed and almost powerless in restraining any abuses in her own members.

In striking contrast to the above; the bishop may exercise an absolute and arbitrary control over the actions of the curate; he can either suspend or dismiss him at will. It is not difficult to see the cause for this difference; the curate is a mere stipendiary,

whilst the incumbent seems, as it were, unassailable behind the laws of property, which shelter him like a rampart against all the thunders of ecclesiastical authority.

We can very easily see that the English clergy have not taken as literal the advice of the Evangelist as to the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field, but, on the contrary, have considered it prudent to lay up a good store of flax wherewith to spin cloth for their surplices, and, when they could manage it, to construct barns wherein to gather their abundance. In a country where the possession of property is a great source of influence, it is necessary to be rich, if you wish to be powerful; and in this aim the clergy have been assisted from time to time by the piety of the faithful. We shall not be right, however, in thinking that a care for their material interests on the part of the clergy eats up all the energy of their religious convictions. The Anglican Church is an institution which is at the same time both temporal and spiritual; but it is with reference to the latter that she manages to command the respect of the population generally.

Even Protestantism has its ideal; but this ideal always finds its realisation in practical duties. One of the principal things which is looked for in a country incumbent is his example: his house must be a model of propriety; for in the eyes of the English all religious duties commence in domestic life.

In order to accomplish this, a clergyman should be married; for how could he present to others the type of all these home virtues if he be debarred from exercising them by any personal vows? The moral force, which constantly distinguishes the middle classes in England, takes its rise in great part from their mode of living. In England every one has his own separate home, in which he shuts up all the best feelings of his heart. This separation assists those habits of reflection and retrospection, which scarcely ever fail to evolve a certain religious ideal. A seclusion—which is in no way either restrictive or forbidding—will thus develop the moral qualities of the individual,—that inner life and those noble feelings which raise a man to a fit relation with nature and nature's God. A parsonage surrounded with peaceful verdure, and hidden like a nest under the shade both of its lofty trees and of the venerable church, is better situated than most places for study and reverie. In the recesses of a calm retreat like this, a heart must either be absorbed in self-communing, or it must elevate itself to God.

The employment of the time and the arrangement of the day is strictly regulated in an English parsonage. At eight o'clock in the morning the breakfast-bell rings. The frugal meal is preceded by family prayers, read by the minister, in which the whole of the inmates, including the servants, take a part. During the morning the vicar works in his study, or

visits the poor. With his round hat on, and his gold-headed cane under his arm, he saunters along the lanes. The school-children bow to him as he passes; and some of the boldest of them, perhaps, will even dare to speak to him. A venerable clergyman leaves behind him a long train of reminiscences on the village memory: his kind words, his smile, the way in which he used to speak to the children, are all enshrined in the recollection of those who have known him, and are talked over round their firesides. At one o'clock the vicar's family are again assembled round the table for *lunch;* and both before and after the meal *grace* is said, and thanks are returned in a short form of words. The afternoon is devoted to visiting, to excursions, or to the transaction of any parochial business. Half an hour before dinner every one retires to his room to dress. When the bell rings, they come down to the drawing-room, where there are often guests invited by the master or mistress of the house. English incumbents are constantly in the habit of receiving company; these social relations form a bond of union between the Church and the charitable families in the parish. After the dinner, which is arranged according to the usual English customs, the ladies first, and then the gentlemen, return to the drawing-room, where they take tea, and occasionally have some music.

There are some incumbents, not very many, it is true, who have latterly conceived the rather happy

idea of inviting once a week the farmers, and on another day the very labourers, to spend the evening with them. If this example were generally followed, it would form an excellent means of elevating the lower classes. The party breaks up about eleven; and the inmates being once more alone, the minister reads the evening family prayers. These few simple habits are constantly followed out in many other English houses: how, then, is there any peculiarity about the parsonage? It can only consist in a kind of aroma of old customs, in the sanctity of social relations joined to domestic life, and in the beam of light which religious ideas always shed on a quiet and well-regulated home.

CHAPTER II.

The Church—The Sunday services—System of seats—Why there is no altar in Protestant churches—Morning service—Why the English can call themselves Catholics—The Funeral Service—"Harvest-Home"—Church-rates and Vestry Meetings—The parish officers—Churchwardens—Village clubs—The Incumbent who is liked by the parishioners, and the Incumbent who is not liked—Charities and parochial visiting.

SUNDAY is naturally the principal day when the minister's functions are exercised in public. About half-past ten in the morning the church-bells begin ringing, and summon the church-goers to their public worship. Some groups of rustics are already assembled in the churchyard, which is a sort of Sunday place of meeting, a kind of rural forum, where the interests of the living are discussed among the graves. Sunday rubs off the rust of the week: people dress in their best, and meet other folk; and even those who have kept aloof from the rest of the world all the week renew to-day their associations with social life. All try to look their best in the eyes of the village; the young girls especially seek to enhance their personal advantages, and glory in putting on the showy produce of their savings. The clergyman is not long before he passes through the churchyard on his way to the vestry; he is bowed to,

as he passes, by sedate rustics, whose countenances breathe an honest freedom. If the weather is rainy, or, still more, if it is harvest-time, it often happens that his congregation is not very numerous. In this case he manages to hide a sort of reprimand under an appearance of kind interest and solicitude. Questioning his parishioners one after the other, he inquires after their wife, their mother, or their son: Are they ill, that he does not see them coming to church? The honest people well understand him, and, with a half-blush, mutter some little excuse. A clergyman once had as parishioner a squire who never attended public worship; the minister offered one day to pray for him before all the congregation. "Why so?" asked the astonished gentleman. "Because," replied the rector, "you never pray for yourself." The story does not say if the menace was effectual in overcoming the resistance of the rebellious squire.

At last the church opens. The inside is remarkable for its extreme simplicity: no statues, no pictures, not even a cross. There are some races who seem to believe through their eyes; but the Anglo-Saxon tribe, on the contrary, declines the intervention of the senses in performing their religious duties. They distrust the seductions of external beauty, and, following the very expression of one of the reformers, they close their eyes and ears to the perfidious beauties of the siren. One of the heaviest reproaches

which the English Protestants bring against our churches is, that they resemble a theatre. The ancient edifices have been, in England, purified of every trace of superstition,—that is, have been deprived of the images that filled them. The severe simplicity of the pointed arches, supported at intervals on thick pillars, is only modified in some cases by the gay colour of the painted glass, and by plates of brass curiously engraved, marking out the ancient tombs. These old churches were for a long time used as a sort of Necropolis. Charles Dickens declares that they are redolent of the dead, and that one sneezes in them from sniffing up the dust of past generations. This is not, however, the case in most of the country churches, where, in the summer time, there comes in through the opened doors the sweet perfume of the meadows and the newly-mown grass.

Protestantism, in grafting its Liturgy on the ancient Catholic edifices, has altered the arrangement of the seats or *pews*, which now invade almost the whole of the church, converging round the pulpit. From this feature, who would not at once recognise a religion in great measure founded on oral addresses? The seats, enclosed in wooden compartments called pews, are assigned for the year to different families by the *churchwardens*. The English love a *home*, even in God's house. Thus it was formerly their custom to isolate themselves in groups or in families, by means of curtains shutting them

out from the view of other persons. This system of *individualism*, or of separation,—opposed by many members of the clergy, as doing away with the idea of *common* prayer, aimed at in the Protestant ritual—has happily disappeared in most of the English churches.

Another feature, which will strike a foreigner at first sight, is the absence of an Altar. It has been replaced by the Communion-table; for to Protestant eyes the Communion is a symbol, and scarcely a sacrament in our way of looking at it. The abolition of the Mass has been every where the starting-point of the religious reformation. The portion of this ceremony chiefly disliked by the Protestant divines was the sacrifice of a flesh-and-blood victim: the gloomy image of the slaughtered lamb brought back Christianity, they said, to the ancient forms of the Jewish and pagan worship. When the sacrifice was suppressed in England, the altar must necessarily fall too.

The priest enters the reading-desk, and the service commences. Clothed in a long white surplice with floating sleeves, the shape of which has not been changed since the epoch of the Reformation, he reads in a loud voice the morning service in the Book of Common Prayer. This service is naturally in English, for the Protestant addresses his God in his national tongue only. The minister's voice alternates with that of the congregation, who respond according

to the forms of the rubric. Every now and then sacred singing, accompanied by the deep tones of the organ, soars up to the vaulted roof. The officiating minister also reads some passages of the Scriptures. The attention of the bishops and the press has been much drawn of late in England to the elocution of young ministers. A clear pronunciation and a good delivery is a great means of influence over the masses with the clergy across Channel. A peasant, struck with the way in which his minister acquitted himself of this part of his duty, once let fall the naïve remark: "Why, he reads the Bible as if he'd written it!" At a certain part of the service the priest leaves the reading-desk and goes into the chancel, to read from thence the Ten Commandments and the Nicene Creed, forming the commencement of the Communion Service.

People in France would be astonished at the English considering themselves really Catholic, and the more so that they add no modification to the expression. The two words *Roman Catholic*, according to their idea, present to the mind a contradiction; for one cannot be at the same time both universal and local. That which we call the Catholic Church is known in England under the name of the Church of Rome, which mode of faith, as well as the Eastern Church, forms a branch only of Catholicity in general. Our Protestant neighbours will not accord to any of these branches, or separate churches, a charac-

ter of infallibility, any more than they claim it for themselves. All may have points of error; and the Church of Rome, they say, has less than any other shown herself to be removed from all danger of fallacy. They reserve the name of *the Church*, in the more general sense of the word, to the general community of Christians spread over the whole earth, who, belonging to whatever branch they may, are members of one great universal family. The more any object is independent of party spirit and separate from any particular religious interest, the more it merits, in the eyes of enlightened Englishmen, the epithet of Catholic. One can thus understand how their creed has preserved the idea of a universal Church, and at the same time thrown aside any bond of dependence on any foreign power.

After having recited—still wearing his surplice—the prayers appointed to be read in the chancel, the officiating minister proceeds into the pulpit, now clad in a long black gown, and there commences his sermon. English preachers are more in the habit of addressing themselves to the mind and to the reason than to the feelings. Little gesticulation, a written sermon, and a high inculcation of moral duties, are the principal features of an eloquence which well suits the sedate character of the nation. What moral effect, then, it will be asked, can be produced on the conscience by rites so simple, and by this vigorous and yet polished discourse? I will not assert that all are

equally struck by them. An anecdote showing this is told of a shopkeeper who attended every Sunday the service at his parish church, and yet made no scruple of cheating his customers. On one occasion he was reproached with his duplicity, and was reminded of a sermon of the minister's on the importance of commercial honesty. "It is all very well," replied he, "to believe these things one day in the week, especially as there are six other days to forget them in, and to do quite the contrary." It is, however, certain that in the country districts the Protestant Church, with her meagre ceremonies and her somewhat stern teaching, manages to imprint on the hearts of the rural population a religious ideal which all the friction of daily working life does not easily efface.

The reformed Church in England recognises two sacraments only—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is not often administered to the children of Protestants until three weeks or a month after their birth. A wish for the preservation of health has perceived the inexpediency of exposing them too soon in the open air; and certain proceedings, which were followed with fatal consequences, have quite lately excited the indignation of our neighbours against the very different custom in the Church of Rome. The Lord's Supper is administered in the churches on the first Sunday in the month, and on some of the principal feasts. All the communicants

partake of both elements; for the claim to the cup by the laity has formed in England, as well as in Germany, one of the chief complaints of the religious reformers against the priestly privileges of the ancient faith. English divines do not believe in Transubstantiation. In their opinion the bread remains bread and the wine remains wine whilst in the hands of the priest; but they believe nevertheless that they partake in a spiritual sense of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. The other sacraments have been abolished, or converted into mere religious ceremonies. The confessional is among the number of the things which have been done away with; but it still, in the country, inspires a kind of Puritan horror. On this point each one has to judge and try himself in all the actions of his life. Man being no longer confessed, absolved, or justified by man, is compelled from his own internal perception to shape out for himself a conscience, or a system of moral responsibility of his own. From this point of view, at least, Protestantism is a manly religion, which sanctions the sovereignty of *self-dependence*, even as regards God and eternity. The English Church still intervenes in burials, although she has long since given up the belief in the efficacy of prayers for the dead. What good, then, is there in offering up these services? It will be stated, among other reasons, that they are an honour rendered to the deceased.

It is the custom in certain districts for the farmers to accompany the funerals on horseback, clothed in long black mantles, and with their hats covered with ornaments of crape. These processions, or, to speak more correctly, gloomy cavalcades, produce a singular effect while passing between the green hedge-rows, covered with wild creepers and the flowering hawthorn. Slowly and silently they creep along: the countenances are sad, but resigned; for the English submit with a sort of pride to that which is irrevocable. All the way, the bell tolls at intervals in the church-tower. On the arrival of the cortège at the churchyard gate, the farmers dismount, and the gravel in the pathway soon grates under both the heavy boots of the mourners and the slow and measured steps of those who carry the coffin. They thus approach the entrance of the church, where the minister comes forward, with his head uncovered, to meet the coffin. The funeral service, which then begins, has been arranged so as both to instruct and console the living. In it the voice of the psalmist tells them that they shall one day fade away like the grass of the field, and that man walketh in a vain shadow upon the earth, and that he heapeth up riches without knowing who shall gather them. This imagery tells us only of our nothingness; but the *lesson*, taken from an epistle of St. Paul, soon sheds a ray of immortality on the darkness of the grave. There is besides no singing, no funereal hangings, nothing

indeed which can in any way strike the eyes or affect the imagination; it is throughout the same *immaterial* style of worship, which addresses only the faith or the intellect.

The cortège then leaves the church, and following the clergyman bends its way towards that part of the churchyard where the grave has been dug beforehand. The latter is edged with planks, to make the opening firm all round. In front of this "open mouth, which swallows up, one after another, all the generations of mankind," the priest recites some solemn sentences. "In the midst of life," he cries, "we are in death." Then, just as some handfuls of earth are let fall at intervals with a dull sound on the coffin, now let down into the bottom of the grave, the priest pronounces with a solemn voice, "We therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." The relations and friends afterwards come forward to the frame of planks, so as to cast a last look on the coffin before it is covered up by the grave-digger; it is an adieu for eternity. While this is going forward, the minister withdraws, leaving the body in peace, whose soul he respects the individuality of, even in the shadows of death.

In the country life of old England the Protestant religion is associated with some scenes more agreeable than the above; I am now especially thinking

of the *Harvest-home.* Every year, on the day fixed upon, they assemble in the church, about eleven in the morning, to celebrate a thanksgiving service. The labourers, preceded by a band of music, afterwards proceed to a tent set up in the middle of a field, in a favourable situation where the view extends over a wide horizon. The country in England often preserves all the freshness of its beauty even in the month of August; one might compare it to a fine strong girl, who was strikingly beautiful in early youth, and still keeps all the traces of it. It is generally less remarkable for any brilliant features in its scenery than for the abundance and rich variety of its details; and although more pretty than striking, it never fails to inspire the rustics with a kind of pride. After all, are not they the men who have made it what it is? The mattock, the spade, and the plough have effected a change in the whole face of nature, softening down the steep declivities of the hills, and changing the earth into a garden. Even the sheltering clumps of trees, where the rustling of the wind sounds in the branches, were planted by the hand of man to protect his husbandry. A rural banquet has been prepared by the land-owners and farmers of the district in the tent, which is ornamented by garlands, and where also honourably figures a great golden sheaf, the produce of the harvest. One may very well imagine that there is no want of appetite; for the English labourers are

strong and hearty sons of the soil, and have preserved in more than one respect the habits of the Homeric age.

The rector generally presides at dinner, and first of all, standing up, says grace: "God be praised," says he, "for all these good things given for our use!" English Protestantism is no religion of fasting and mortification; instead of abstaining from the good things of the earth, they like better to bless the hand that sends them. The guests, numbering about four or five hundred, are scarcely seated, before the rector plunges his formidable knife into a monstrous joint of beef. The plates of meat come one after the other in such rapid succession and so heavily laden, that any less solidly constructed table would give way groaning under such a burden. Good cheer and merry talk are very apt to dispose the heart to gratitude; and thus the quality of the crops, and the good Providence that ripened them, are talked of with a kindly thankfulness. When the attack on the meat is finished—and the labourers go at it with no slack hand—there is a delay of a minute or two for the second course. A party of ladies, about sixty in number, preceded by the same band of music which accompanied the procession before at going out of church, now come in at the two openings of the tent, and walk up along the tables in single file, each carrying a smoking plum-pudding, ornamented with flowers and sprigs of holly; the wife and daughters

of the rector often figuring in this procession. The plum-puddings having disappeared, four men bring in on their shoulders an immense loaf made out of the wheat of the harvest, and place it with some ceremony before the president. One of the guests—some lusty farmer—one foot on the table, and one on his seat, cuts vigorously into this Pantagruelic mass of food, and at the same moment a cheese is brought in, a worthy brother of the huge loaf, and very little inferior to it in bulk.

At the conclusion of the feast, the labourers disperse over a piece of ground, got ready beforehand, and give themselves up to various games and athletic sports. It must be confessed that the English have not much idea of amusement; with them pleasure seems chiefly to consist in action. This simplicity is so grounded in their character, that it pervades their whole mode of life. In the country especially, any of the arts or refinements of luxury are, even in rich families, something of a foreign importation. Just in the same way as he is so easily amused, the Anglo-Saxon peasant, in spite of his rough outside, is worked upon without difficulty, and it is thus explained how it is that he is deeply moved by a worship so closely resembling nature, without any need for having recourse to outward pomp and striking dramatic effects. Joy in the triumph of physical force, the happiness of meeting together to thank Him who gilds the ears of corn in the furrows; such

are the main features in the religious character of this rural *fête*. In the field devoted to play, another tent is put up for the wives and daughters of the labourers. Four or five hundred people assemble there about four in the afternoon for tea. Members of Parliament and the clergy, together with the best families in the neighbourhood, are all happy to assist in these interesting *réunions*, in which intellect and wealth meet to do honour to agricultural labour.

The rector or vicar is entirely the master of the church; but it would be a mistake to look upon it as placed under his absolute authority. There is nothing of this kind in England. On the contrary, each parish is like a little commonwealth, governed by itself. The due division of power, duties, and work, is no less strictly defined there than it is in the national constitution itself. In the first place, at the very side of the church there is often a Methodist chapel. There are then here two centres at least to which may converge some of the nobler sentiments of social life. There may very often be in some obscure corner of the village a meeting-house for Quakers; a small antiquated cottage, cleanly whitewashed and festooned with honeysuckle and vine; and looked after with sedulous care by some aged sister of the sect. The divisions between the Established Church and the Dissenting congregation in the country do not so much rest on any very grave differences in point of faith; not the less, however,

do they all make a point of following out the usages of their worship with a fidelity which one might call the *point of honour* of conscience. Most of these sects have taken their rise in some old theological dispute, which would not perhaps have arisen in these times; but they now form the inheritance handed down from a past age, which the English will not easily get rid of. Some of them certainly supply a want; different minds, as St. Paul intimates, require different nutriment, and these chapels have been founded in order to satisfy this variety in spiritual tastes. All Dissenters are, however, compelled to pay church-rates, and they murmur at it, for in this way they are condemned to pay twice, first to the church which they do not attend, and then to the particular chapel in which they worship. The abolition of church-rates has been several times proposed in the House of Commons, but hitherto without success.

As the law actually stands, this impost constitutes a charge on Dissenters which is very difficult to justify; but, at any rate, it gives them some privileges. One of these privileges consists in the right of attending at *vestry meetings*. In these meetings, which take place several times in the year, and are announced by notices on the church-doors, all the questions are discussed which relate to the necessary expense of public worship, and to the repairs of the church itself. The head of the local opposition is usually some wealthy farmer or shopkeeper, an obstinate-minded

man, bred up in all the principles of dissent, and proud of pitting church against chapel. The self-esteem of the clergyman may often be wounded by the freedom of speech which takes place; yet who would wish to do away with it? One good reason why the English manage their national affairs so well is that they have been wise enough to place the right of contradiction at the very base of their social edifice.

Parish matters oftentimes give rise to dissensions between the different parties, and call forth certain exaggerations of eloquence which might well provoke a smile; these centres of agitation, however, help to break the monotony of country life. Nearly all the opinions of large cities are found represented in English villages. In one of them I met a free-thinker in the shape of an old man grafting his own fruit-trees, and studying devotedly various scientific works. His house, planted on the top of a hill, with a row of windows along the upper story commanding all the valley round, and flanked with a tower, the remains of an old windmill, was looked upon by all the good people of the neighbourhood with a sort of superstitious terror. It was, they said, the abode of an infidel —an epithet they are here rather too fond of giving to any one who does not attend a place of worship. A case like this of isolation in religious matters is rather uncommon from another cause: if you wish to obtain any influence in rural England, you must

belong either to the national church, or at any rate to some other religious community. An Englishman who had very independent ideas, but was not the less a believer in a certain point of view, replied to some one who inquired as to his religious views, "The chapel to suit me is not built yet; when it is, I shall go there."

The great event at the vestry meetings, taking place every year during Easter week, is the election of the parish officers.* The village authorities consist of the *churchwardens*, the *overseers*, the *constables*, and the *way-wardens* or road-surveyors. All these offices, excepting perhaps the constable's, bring no pay to their possessors except the honour of holding them; they are not, however, the less sought after. In some villages the elections pass off very peaceably; in others, on the contrary, they excite an active and bitter rivalry. Both of the two parties declare that the fate of England depends on their success. This strong feeling, however, soon cools down after the result of the voting is announced, and the next day the village returns to its usual state of quiet.

The *clerk* and the *sexton* are persons who are more specially attached to the service of the church, and are directly appointed by the vicar or rector. The clerk, who very often carries on some manual occu-

* The electors are composed of the contributors to the parochial rates; for in England property is the root of all power, civil and religious.

pation in the neighbourhood, is appointed to lead the responses to the minister during the celebration of divine service. The sexton is the remains of an ancient and now disused office. As the name indicates, he formerly performed the functions of *sacristan*, that is, he had the care of the sacred vessels committed to him. The Reformation, of course, very much simplified the appurtenances of worship, and therefore took away many of his prerogatives; and the supervision of the vestry, which was not very important, was made over to the clerk. The sexton's employment is now limited to sweeping out the church and digging the graves. But I must not forget the bell-ringer, who, nearly as old as the steeple, presents in some villages a rather curious specimen. Having rung-in all the joys and sorrows of life, he turns philosopher on becoming a widower, and, with a pot of beer in his hand, consoles himself with reflecting on the vanity of worldly matters, such as marriages and burials.

The two churchwardens, one of whom is chosen by the vestry, the other being generally nominated by the rector or vicar, enjoy some considerable authority in the management of the fabric. They have to assign to each family their position in the interior of the church—rather a dangerous honour, generally bringing on all kinds of jealousies in the parish. It very often happens that the number of pews is scarcely sufficient for the parishioners; in that case,

the poor are ranged on wooden benches—in some churches with the men on one side, and the women on the other—along the aisles of the building. The poor do not say much; but they are not the less wounded in their dignity as human beings by this distinction in the house of that God "who is no respecter of persons." The churchwardens also exercise a certain control over the conduct and doctrines of the minister. The latter, as we have seen, has but little to dread from ecclesiastical authority; but he has a good deal to answer for to his congregation.

The present constitution of the Anglican Church allows either rectors or vicars to have a great liberty in religious opinions; it would scarcely be believed that the restraining power rests principally with the parishioners themselves. It is true that the laity can only exercise over the minister the right of moral intervention; in case of need, their resistance could only be passive; but still, even this would oppose an effectual barrier against certain rationalistic tendencies. The intimate alliance which exists between the State and the Church may thus be said to have taken its rise from a much deeper source; namely, the constant relations subsisting between the clergy and the nation at large. The national religion is watched over as an inheritance by all classes of society, especially in the country. Two or three years ago, the minister of an English church addressed a touching letter to his churchwardens, announcing his voluntary

resignation of a living that he had held for many years. With the lapse of time, he said, his ideas had changed, and as a minister of religion he still found himself faced by fixed dogmas, with a Prayer-book consecrated by custom, and also with a congregation who had the right to look to him for a line of instruction conformable to the doctrines of the Anglican Church; his position in his pulpit was no longer tenable, and he therefore abandoned it. When a clergyman secedes from the Established Church for any such scruples, it is very rarely that he unites himself to any other religious sect; for by doing this he would only bind his chains the closer, as most of the dissenting bodies keep quite as closely as church people to the letter of the Bible.

The direction of all the parochial charities belongs in the country chiefly to the incumbent. The English, except in certain extraordinary cases, are not at all partial to the system of *direct* relief; in their idea, the greatest service they can render the poorer classes is to teach them how to do without public relief. The question is then to find some means of disguising charity, and one of these means is the principle of association based on sure grounds. In almost all the villages of England there are *clubs*, which are at once funds for assistance and banks for savings. Each of these clubs consists both of honorary and participating members. The former contribute some particular amount from which they never look for

any personal advantage—it is a free gift on their part; the latter, on the contrary, receive in kind the value of their club-payment, and benefit besides by the generosity of the former. By thus calling on the poor to cooperate with the rich, they are able to relieve poverty without wounding the personal dignity of any.* The agricultural labourers derive more than one kind of advantage from this system of association; the club buys its goods wholesale, and sells them at cost price, and can thus give them much cheaper bargains than the shops. These material results are, however, not of much consequence, compared with the habits of order and foresight which such institutions imprint on the character of the rural labourer. There certainly is a portion of the funds in the club cash-box which has been provided by charity, but it is mixed up with the produce of their personal labour and economy. In these works of charity the minister readily makes use of female assistance. His daughters give a noble example,

* In the village to which my observation was more particularly drawn, which contains a population of about 1700 inhabitants, the *Coal-Club* had received in money, from March 1st, 1863, to March 1st, 1864, the sum of 85*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, and it had distributed nearly this amount in coal to the agricultural labourers. The *Adult Clothing-Club* had contributed more than 80*l.* towards the attire of the men and women. The *Children's Clothing-Club* had provided garments to the value of 22*l.* for those of whom it is said in the Evangelist, *Sinite parvulos venire ad me.* The *Shoe-Club* had delivered in this same year 148 pairs of shoes, having received as depósits and subscriptions the sum of 31*l.*

and thus draw round them the patronage of the wealthy.

All the clergymen that I have talked to on the matter attribute the success of these institutions to the absence of any principle of authority. In the first place, Government must have nothing to do with it, or all would be spoilt; even the surveillance of the minister must be in some way hidden under the organisation of the club. It is by far the best plan for him to keep in the background, and to leave the poor to manage their business for themselves, and thus to accustom them to the exercise of their rights. Direction is not management, and there is in this a delicate shade that, in practice, must never be lost sight of. The science of doing good requires, then, on the part of the parson both intelligence and experience; nothing is easier than mere giving, but any material help has often the effect of only impoverishing the recipient by taking away his self-reliance. Every thing, on the contrary, that tends to elevate the individual, and to augment his moral force, by communicating to him a just idea of his real interests, is so much added to his means of livelihood. True charity, in the English idea, is that which procures for the poor advantages which they have every right to look upon as in a great measure their own work.

Some country clergymen are in the habit of encouraging other social meetings among their people,

as well as those institutions just spoken of; for example, *tea parties.* Taking advantage of the influence which the friendly beverage of China exercises on English habits, they have established in some villages meetings of from two to three hundred people, which take place in the corner of a wood, perhaps, in summer, and in winter in the school-room. The intention of these *love-feasts*, as they may be called, is not difficult to be seen; the ministers of the Church have in view to bring together in this way the various ranks and conditions of society. The expense is slight, and accessible to every purse; sixpence for grown-up people, and threepence for children. They meet only for amusement; but the gentle manners and good example of some among them exercise a happy influence on the general tone of their entertainment. While the kettles full of boiling water hiss and sing, general conversation goes on, and the different classes of society get both to know and esteem each other better.

English peasants are generally robust, and it is almost necessary that their spare energy should be thrown into some manly exercise; when left to themselves, or badly directed, they are apt at times to disturb the peaceable lives of the inhabitants of the village. In order to get over this difficulty, some ministers have hit upon the plan of arranging a system of athletic sports; they have formed clubs, holding their meetings sometimes in the open air, and

sometimes in a large room, where violence may learn to be held in check by skill. The field-labourers used to have no medical assistance in time of illness except nature or the quack; now, the *sick-club*, founded in many villages, affords them, in return for a small weekly subscription, all the benefits of a man of skill and his remedies. All these arrangements are, however, conducted on the same principle; the moral force which gives the primary impulse is but little seen, and, above all, never seeks to get the upper hand.

The life of an English parson is quite sufficiently occupied. Two services and two sermons on the Sunday; during the week there are the sick to be visited, meetings to preside over, parishioners to be entertained, and the general interests of the Church to be watched over: all this does not form a sinecure. It is true that some incumbents content themselves with doing their duty in their pulpits, and then withdrawing into the learned leisure of their comfortable homes; but these men are little liked, and scarcely exercise any influence at all in the parish generally. The peasants love a clergyman who will come sometimes and sit down by their fire-sides, who talks to them about their daily work, who kindly draws between his knees the fair-haired little ones, and seems to forget, while among them, all his dignity as a priest in his recollections as a father. The great character of English Protestantism is the im-

planting of religious feeling round the domestic hearth; and there, above all places, is the feeling most strong, because it is most natural. It is true that religious belief does not proclaim itself here by any external signs; it is in the heart and not on the walls; yet it seems like a kind of Bible-perfume filling the whole house. These pastoral visits afford great pleasure, and while they last the cricket itself chirps more proudly in the chimney corner. A false idea of personal dignity, and of the respect which is due to a gentleman, has been the stumbling-block of many a promising character that has entered orders. Some ministers keep at too great a distance from their parishioners; stiff and reserved in their manners, they can easily command an outward respect, but they can acquire neither the esteem nor the confidence of the great mass of the people, who indeed scarcely know them.

In many places the parsons are *justices of the peace* as well;* this mixture of duties is more injurious than beneficial to the Church. The English clergy can never, in the present day, much extend their influence by means of authority; tolerance and kindness are the things they must look to. There is one other duty which assimilates much more fittingly with the pastoral prerogative, I mean the surveillance of the

*From a report made to Parliament, there are in England and Wales 1183 clergymen exercising the duties of magistrates.

schools. There are now few villages where there is not by the side of the Church a building more or less modern, with something of an attempt at looking like gothic architecture. In the former edifice Protestantism worships God; in the latter she instructs childhood.

CHAPTER III.

The schools—Infant school—National school and Sunday-school—Andrew Bell—Joseph Lancaster—The system of mutual instruction—The National Society—The British and Foreign Schools Society—Reasons for the antagonism of these two institutions—The Revised Code—Objections to which it has given rise—Causes for the complaints and grievances of the Clergy—General views of the Government—Who nominates the Schoolmaster?—Progress of education in England since the commencement of the Nineteenth Century—Bond of union between the Church and the school.

THE village in which I passed some time possessed two schools; one, the *Infant School*, situated on a little hill in the centre of a piece of greensward. The building is a new one, and consists of a large room with a small apartment by the side, and a vestibule. Inside it very much resembles a chapel. The walls, whitewashed with lime, and decorated with coloured engravings, support a vaulted ceiling with oak wainscoting and beams, ornamented with carving. A hundred and ten children of tender years are received here in the day-time; this room partakes, therefore, of the nature both of a school and of a *nursery*, like those in which the children of

the wealthier classes are brought up. There are two mistresses, one of whom is salaried, and the other gives her services gratuitously. The first is quite a young girl; the latter is a lady in black, who has a little the appearance and costume of a *religieuse;* and she it is who does almost every thing in the school. The Protestant religion inspires a devotion of this kind.

The assemblage of all these children of both sexes, seated on the benches, and, so to speak, sloped off according to their ages, step by step, like little fruit-trees in blossom on the side of a hill, presents at first sight an interesting spectacle. The education is of course quite elementary: it is limited to communicating some few useful notions; and in order to impress them better, when they are required, both action and imitation are called in to assist. The children reply all together to the questions addressed to them by their mistress, clapping their little hands together, and measuring out their words in a kind of singing tone. The more advanced of them are also taught to read and write. They are divided into several classes, each bearing the name of some flower; so that a little girl may be a *violet*, a *rose*, a *daisy*, or a *geranium*.

The other school is the one for the older children, and is called the *National School.** It is separated

* At the Infant School the children pay 1*d.* a-week; at the National School 2*d.* a-week.

from the church by the vicar's house, and is surrounded by a playground. This kind of family union between the parsonage and the school is not, however, peculiar to the Established Church; there is scarcely a dissenting chapel which does not shelter under its wing a hive-full of buzzing children. Daily classes are held in the national school, attended by a hundred and thirty pupils, and evening classes, in which about thirty adults generally take a part. The master gets 80*l.* a year from the parish, and about 25*l.* from the government, without reckoning 10*l.* for the instruction of six *pupil-teachers*. He has besides a house and garden provided for him.

The *Sunday-school* is also held in the same building as that which is devoted to the weekly scholars. The origin of this institution is rather interesting. The first Sunday-school was opened in 1781 by Robert Raikes, a bookseller, who assembled together in the crypt of Gloucester Cathedral some poor children whom he collected out of the street. He was at the same time publishing a newspaper (*The Gloucester Journal*), and he made use of this organ for propagating in England his ideas about a work to which he rightly attached no small importance.* The pro-

* He was helped and inspired in his work by the Rev. T. Stock, curate of St. John's at Gloucester. Behind the altar of this church there is the following inscription on a marble monument put up by the subscriptions of the inhabitants: "To the memory of the

gress made by these institutions was really bordering on the marvellous; and at the present time, Sunday-schools are spread like a network over, not only England, but even Scotland and Ireland. Sunday, which is usually considered a day of rest, is, on the contrary, with our neighbours a very busy day. The clergyman's daughter, or some other educated person, willingly presides at these schools, either in the morning or between the services. The instruction given in them chiefly touches on religious subjects; and, pushing aside the obscuring brambles of theology, opens out a few simple views through the seemingly mysterious forest of the Scriptures. The lessons are all gratuitous, and many of the youthful poor, occupied all the week in hard work, have but this one tie to unite them to the ideal world. At the very least, they learn to read the Bible and to think a little about it. The Anglican Church has the good quality of appealing first of all to the intellect. She asks an active and not a passive reception of those doctrines which are subsequently to form the foundation of an intelligent belief; for Protestants are bound to *think* before they believe.

Finally, during the winter evenings public lectures are held in the National school, and bring to-

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Rev. Thomas Stock, rector of this parish, who, in concert with Mr. Raikes, established and maintained the four first Sunday-schools instituted in England. He died in 1803."

gether an audience of from eighty to a hundred and fifty persons, the vicar himself being one of the lecturers. We may conclude as pretty certain that, for a village of seventeen hundred inhabitants, the means of instruction are sufficiently abundant.

The National schools take the place of those which we call in France the *écoles primaires*. They owe their origin to a minister of the Anglican Church, Dr. Andrew Bell, born at St. Andrews in Scotland. After having passed a good examination at the university in his native city, Andrew Bell embarked for America in 1774; five years later he left New York to return to England. The voyage was a disastrous one: the vessel ran ashore on a desert coast, and, as it was winter time, the passengers found themselves exposed, without shelter, to the frost and snow. The only trace of habitation they met with was a fisherman's hut in ruins, which they discovered towards the south-west. Andrew Bell had little hopes of surviving the shipwreck; he was, however, saved by a small boat which came along the coast, and which brought him to Halifax, after sixteen days of terrible sufferings. He re-embarked, and this time arrived safely at his port in England.

After some years of a wandering and adventurous life, during which he travelled about the country, sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot, he received holy orders, and was instituted as minister of the episcopal chapel at Leith. This quiet

position was very little to his taste; and he left it, to travel in the East Indies. The 2d of June 1787 he arrived at Madras, from whence he at length made his way to Calcutta. During his journey he had endeavoured to fill his purse by giving lectures—a rather favourite resource with educated Englishmen who are seeking their fortunes. Having been subsequently appointed Superintendent of the Military Orphan Asylum at Madras, he devoted himself altogether to the duties of his office. The plans for teaching were then very imperfect, and Andrew Bell, having his mind confused with doubts, sought on all sides for some ray of decisive light; when, passing one evening on horseback by a Hindoo school, he espied the children sitting on the ground, and tracing letters with their fingers on the dust that was spread out before them. He returned home, exclaiming, as others have done before him, "I've found it out!" Andrew Bell then recommended to his under-master to adopt this plan in teaching the alphabet to the English scholars in the lowest class.

The discovery did not seem to be so useful a one as he had thought; for, either from disinclination or negligence, the under-master made it known to him that it was impossible to teach any thing to the children in this fashion. Andrew Bell was not the sort of man to give any thing up (he was not born in Scotland for nothing); he selected one of the pupils of the asylum,—the son of a private soldier,—

and intrusted to him the execution of his plan. The scholar managed without any difficulty that which the professor had declared to be impossible. Learning to read and write was, up to that time, a serious matter of state; in future, thanks to this plan, it was nothing but child's play. Dr. Bell, seeing that this experiment had succeeded so well, conceived the idea of choosing out some of the best of the pupils, and employing them as *monitors* to instruct the others. Thus by his painstaking was formed the system of mutual instruction, or *pupil-teachers*. He afterwards formed the plan of returning to England, in order to propagate his ideas there. After his arrival in London, where he married, he exercised for many years an important influence on rudimentary education in the kingdom, and died in 1830, prodigiously rich, leaving the greatest part of his fortune to the schools and towns of Scotland.

There was living at the same time another man of a very different character, although devoted to the same line of inquiry and labour. His name was Joseph Lancaster. He was born in 1778, in Southwark, and belonged to the sect of Quakers, or, more properly, the Society of Friends. His father, a veteran in the Military Hospital at Chelsea, had served in the English army during the American war. From the earliest age Joseph showed all the excitability of a mystical intellect; at fourteen years of age, having read by accident Clarkson's *Essay on*

the Slave-Trade, he made up his mind to go to Jamaica, in order to teach the negroes to read "the Word of God." Without mentioning it to any one, he left his paternal roof and took the road to Bristol, having as baggage nothing but a Bible, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* and a few shillings. The first night he slept under a hedge, and the second at the foot of a hay-rick. He had the good fortune to meet on the road a workman who was likewise going to Bristol; so they travelled together, and the elder was able to render assistance to the younger. When Joseph arrived at his place of destination, he found himself without either money or shoes. He entered himself as a volunteer in the navy, and was sent off the next day to Milford Haven. On board his ship he was bantered on account of the religious tone of his mind, and got from his messmates the nickname of *Parson.* One Sunday when the captain was away,* the officers came and found Joseph Lancaster, and asked him if he could preach them a sermon. The youth only asked for half an hour for reflection, and to read his Bible. When he reappeared on deck, they arranged a barrel to serve as a pulpit, and the ship's crew assembled round the young preacher. He began by reproaching the rough sailors with their evil ways, and he was at first received only with

* It must be understood that in English vessels the captain sometimes fills the office of chaplain.

jeers; but his rough and vigorous eloquence, nurtured by the reading of the Old and New Testament, soon prevailed over the unfriendly disposition of his audience. From this day forward he was no longer made fun of, but was treated with respect by the seamen. His family at last found out where he was, and obtained from the government a permission for him to return.

At eighteen years of age, Joseph Lancaster opened a school in his father's house. Having furnished the benches and desks at his own expense, he assembled round him ninety children to share his teaching. It was then a period of scarcity (1798); as in the fable, the poor little grasshoppers of his school went about crying famine among the industrious ants of the neighbourhood; touched with their distress, he interested several charitable persons in their favour, and managed to feed them as well as to teach them. At the door of his establishment he fixed a notice, couched in these words: "All those who wish may send their children to receive a gratuitous education. Those who would not like to have them taught gratis, are at liberty to pay, if they think fit." This notice had, at any rate, the effect of filling the school, but not by any means the purse of its master. Nevertheless, he extended his operations on a great scale. "The little ones," said he, "came running to me like a flock of lambs." Some persons of influence,—among others, the Duke of

Bedford and Lord Somerville, became interested in Joseph Lancaster's labours. The number of his pupils, however, increased to such an extent, that his means became quite unequal to the burden. Necessity, which the English call the mother of invention, came to his aid, and pointed out to him a new path by which to attain his end. Having no money to pay under-masters with, he conceived the idea of multiplying himself by means of *monitors*.

This system of mutual instruction was thus discovered, almost at the same moment, by two very different men, each acted upon by peculiar circumstances. Andrew Bell commenced it in the Asylum at Madras, through a mistrust of routine, and Joseph Lancaster in his schools, from motives of economy.* The latter became so much talked about, and met with such great success in his plans, that George III. manifested a desire to give him an audience. The interview took place in 1805, at Weymouth. "Lancaster," cried the king, "I hear that, in your schools, one master can teach five hundred scholars at once; how does he manage to keep them in order?" "In the same way, sire, as your entire army is put in movement by one word of the general commanding it," replied the Quaker. George III.

* Both subsequently claimed the honour of this discovery, which has been for a long time either abandoned or much modified in England.

added: "I very much approve of your system, and my desire is that every poor child in my dominions shall learn to read the Bible." The king immediately sent him 100*l.*, the queen 50*l.*, and each of the princesses 25*l.*, in order that he might spread the benefits of education according to his views. The example afforded by the Court at once opened up the sources of individual liberality, and money flowed into Lancaster's hands from all sides; this, however, was his ruin. Excitable, enthusiastic as he was, and consumed with zeal for his work, he threw aside all prudent counsels, and very much exceeded the limit of his resources in the maintenance of *his children*, and thus got into debt. Friends came to his assistance, and several times got him out of his embarrassments; but his prodigality towards others was quite incorrigible, and he always relapsed into the same pecuniary difficulties.

His correspondence at this time shows him to us as, by turns, despondent or triumphant, and as passing suddenly from the depths of melancholy to the pinnacle of hope. His mind being given up to all kinds of visionary ideas, he thought he saw "the horses of fire bringing to him from the mountains, in chariots of fire, all the riches of the earth," so as to preserve his system from irreparable ruin. Unfortunately, debts cannot be paid with the gold of the Apocalypse, and the prophet more than once fell into the hands of the bailiffs. His Quaker friends,

men devoted to order and commerce, who placed an almost religious importance on good book-keeping, ended by abandoning him, after having condemned his extravagance. In 1808 he was declared bankrupt; he afterwards left for America, where also he passed through all kinds of trials. He was thinking about returning to England, when, on the 23d of October 1838, he was crushed to death by a carriage in the streets of New York, at the age of fifty-one years.

These two men first gave rise to two societies having for their aim the instruction of youth, but with tendencies strongly opposed to one another. Dr. Bell gave his influence to the *National Society*, and Joseph Lancaster gave his to the *British and Foreign Schools Society*. As these two centres of religious action have exercised, and still do exercise, a great influence over the management of rudimentary schools, it is necessary for us to dwell upon them for a short time. The National Society was founded in 1811, but it was scarcely developed until 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, when the benefits of the peace first began to call the public attention to the education of the poorer classes. Its affairs are managed by a committee, consisting of the whole bench of bishops, some of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, and several laymen enjoying distinguished public esteem. All the subscribers of a guinea a-year, and those who have given ten guineas

in one sum, are members of the society, and have the right of voting at the general meetings. The provincial councils of education, presided over by the bishop of the diocese, and situated in all parts of the kingdom, are connected with the central institution, the offices of which are in Westminster.

What, then, is the end aimed at by this society, based as it is upon active influences, and a mechanism as powerful as it is far-stretching? Its aim is to instruct the children of the working and agricultural classes in the principles of the Established Church. In following out these views, it first of all seeks to develop the means of education by increasing the number of schools. The various sums which it has drawn from its funds to assist in this measure in different localities, up to the end of 1864, amounted to a total of 389,964*l.* This society, however, never grants money, except as an addition to other money; that is, it requires from any localities assisted a corresponding expenditure, and generally, indeed, a larger sum than the assistance given. It is calculated, for example, that for the building only of schools devoted to elementary instruction, it has stimulated the country at large into expending a sum at least three times as large as its own disbursements; and besides, it imposes on each parish the charge of maintaining in repair and defraying the expenses of its school, when it is once built. In order to place a school of elementary instruction in

a position of connection with the National Society, it is requisite that the directors or patrons of the establishment in question should subscribe to certain "terms of union;" by which it is understood that they bind themselves to forward the views of the society in the religious education of youth. The number of schools in union with the National Society had reached, at the end of 1864, a total of 12,366, and these establishments received 1,172,306 scholars.*

This society is not satisfied with merely diffusing elementary instruction throughout the kingdom; it busies itself, besides, in the education of instructors. With this view, it has under its immediate control five Normal schools, three of which are for young men, and two for young women, who aspire to the duties of teachers. From 1843 to 1863, no less than 4,447 masters and mistresses have come from these academies. If we add to all this, the assistance furnished to the Normal schools in the various dioceses, the surveillance of the parish schools by the independent Government inspectors, and also that they keep a dépôt of books determining the orthodox type of elementary instruction throughout Great Britain, we can then form some idea of the powerful influence exercised by the National Society, which

* If the Sunday-schools are included, the number mounts up to 1,818,476 scholars.

has been rightly called, by one of the clergy indeed, "the handmaid of the Church." There are, though, some servants who are the mistresses.

The *British and Foreign Schools Society* has the same end in view as the National Society, and this end is the instruction of youth; but having been founded, in 1808, by the Dissenters, it embraces in its sphere of action all the various sects, or, as they are called in England, *religious denominations.* Quite different from its rival, this society imposes no obligation as to the form of religious belief in the pupils who are received into its schools. Instruction is there a kind of neutral ground, on which it is requisite to treat with respect all distinctions of creed. Although she instils into youth certain general moral principles, she abstains from touching on the thorny points of dogmatism. The Bible is certainly permitted to be read in its schools, but it is because the Bible is a base of instruction recognised by universal consent in all Christian communities.

The head-quarters of this society is in the Borough Road, in London, where they have built a stone edifice for their use in a rather good style. A general meeting, taking place every year in May, composed of all the members of the society, that is, all the subscribers of one guinea each, elect a president, vice-presidents, a treasurer, and secretaries. A committee of forty-eight persons is also chosen to manage the affairs of the institution. This general committee

names a committee of twenty-four ladies to look after the education of the little girls. The income resulting from subscriptions, legacies, and donations, amounts to 13,868*l.* a-year. Just like the National Society, the British and Foreign Schools Society founds, inspects, and manages both normal schools and a great number of elementary schools. The only feature which distinguishes it from the system followed by the other institution, is the entire absence of any restriction in matters of belief; it imposes no condition in rendering its services, and freely throws the light of elementary instruction on the children of the poorer classes. With respect to dissenting families, it thus assures to them every liberty of conscience, without, at the same time, giving up the right of forwarding a certain system of Christian proselytism.

The task of the education of the people of England was thus, up to 1832, entirely borne by these two societies, and by a noble individual devotion aided by the offerings of the various parishes; Government kept itself in the background. This is by no means the case at the present time. How, then, has the Government found itself able to interfere in the system of public instruction as regards the elementary schools? Simply, by its right as a subscriber. The Government a subscriber! This is an union of words which will perhaps astonish some of our French readers. No form of expression, however, can be more in accordance with the facts. In the first place,

Parliament voted several grants, which were to be distributed by the Department of Education, so as to forward certain local efforts in the formation of schools. Every parish that applied to the authorities for a grant of money was bound to have first themselves collected a sum equal to the help asked for. Before 1852, the Government found itself face to face with the two old rival societies, one of which (the National Society) represented the Church, the other (the British and Foreign Schools Society) represented the dissenting body; it readily availed itself of their ministration, and the grants of the Government generally pass through the channel of these institutions. The alliance between Religion and Education was not, however, entirely severed; it was requisite for a school to belong to some persuasion of belief, in order to enjoy the bounty of the national purse.

The applications for grants flowed in, and the amount of them altogether rapidly rose to near upon 1,000,000*l.* a-year. The economists began to be alarmed; and on the other hand, certain members of the high church are now regretting that they have, as they say, bitten at the golden hook. But what can be the subject of their regret? It is, that the Government, though still keeping up its character as a subscriber, soon claimed the privilege which is never denied to private individuals in a similar case, when supplying funds for any charitable work; whoever gives is permitted to satisfy himself personally

that his money is well applied. The Privy Council, relying on this theory, imposed conditions on all those schools which accepted the assistance of Government. By degrees the system of studies was modified, and the ground-work of the instruction was modelled according to the views of various statesmen. The Council, for example, decided that the schoolmasters, instead of receiving a fixed salary, should, in future, be remunerated according to the work done. At the present time a portion of their income depends on the number of pupils attending their classes, and the success which these pupils obtain under examination. Government inspectors come down to examine into the progress of the studies generally, and fix, according to the manifested exertions of the master, the amount of pecuniary recompense he deserves. Government wishes, as the phrase is, to have its value for its money; and therefore, instead of paying for the means of education, it pays for the results.

These changes were a great source of alarm to many of the clergy; for it must be remembered that the incumbents were in the habit previously of taking the exclusive direction of the schools, especially in the country. It was not, therefore, without uneasiness, that they saw the control of the State gradually insinuating itself into the system of elementary instruction, as a consequence of, and in right of, the assistance afforded. The *Revised Code*,—the name given to the new regulations,—has been rather fa-

mous in England for the objections it has called forth on the part of the Church. There is, without doubt, some exaggeration in these grievances; we cannot, however, fail to observe that the intention of Government has been to *extend* and not to *elevate* the level of education among the people in the various schools. The course of study conceived and carried out in some villages by certain clergymen, some time back, was far more liberal than the Privy Council programme.*

Be that as it may, the action of the civil power in these matters has no resemblance whatever to that which we call *State intervention*. In the first place, this intervention can, in England, be freely rejected by renouncing the material advantages which it brings with it; and in the next place, it does not at all do away with local self-government. Two forces are acting in concert in this matter, society in general and the parish,—that which we call in France *la Commune*. The system of voluntary contributions, when it works alone, has this inconvenience about it, that it liberally provides rich districts with the aid and assistance which is denied in poorer localities. This source of charity somewhat resembles those mountain torrents which are full enough in winter-

* The teaching in these schools is at present limited to instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The course of study traced out about 1859 by a few country rectors embraced several other branches of secular knowledge.

time, when there is plenty of water everywhere, but which are dried up in the summer, when there is the most need for their supplies. At the present time, thanks to the distribution of the public grants, this inequality is much less observable, for elementary schools are now supported by three branches of income—the subscriptions of the parish, the payments of the children, and the subsidies of the Government.

A section of the English clergy bring a special charge against the Government of having set a trap for them, and of having taken advantage of these grants in order to secularise elementary education. But what truth is there in this charge? The Church and the Dissenters have an equal right to ask for the State subsidy, and their applications are received with an equal favour. There is no occasion for any difficulty in a district where there are a considerable number of Church people, and also a tolerably powerful body of Dissenters; in a case like this we find *two* schools established. It is very different from this, however, in a great many villages. The mass of wealth is generally found in the hands of those professing the established religion, while the Dissenters are usually not very rich; and to obtain any assistance from the public exchequer, it is necessary for a congregation first to collect among themselves a sum of money which is very often much beyond their means. There is no other resource, therefore, for dissenting families but to send their children to the

parish school; but this is a school belonging to the Church of England, and they can only be received there on sufferance. It must be acknowledged that most of the clergy are liberal enough in their views to receive into the fold these young wandering sheep; yet the religious instruction, which is here inseparable from the secular teaching, brings with it more than one inconvenience. The Catechism and other formularies are taught in the parish school; and this course of instruction sometimes excites the secret alarm of parents deeply attached to the principles of their sect.

The Government, impressed with this state of things, and fearing that a considerable number of poor children would thus be excluded from these means of instruction by the scruples of their parents, determined latterly to introduce what the English call the *Conscience Clause*. This is a new stipulation dictated by the Government to those who accept its aid. It requires school managers to receive all the children in a parish, whether they belong to the Church of England or not; and it likewise forbids them to place under religious instruction any children whose parents are opposed to it. This clause has called forth a very energetic controversy on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities all over the kingdom. With many of the clergy, defending the school seemed the same as defending the Church. The resistance, therefore, which this measure has experienced can-

not much be wondered at; and certainly there is no want of arguments to bring against it. Has it not been the Church's money which has built these schools, from which they now want to expel, at least in part, the teaching of the national faith? Has it not been the generous exertions of the clergy which have for ages borne the entire burden of elementary instruction in the country districts? And what is it that they are now asking of them? To dissever their former work, to keep silence as to their doctrines, and to open their doors to a mere indifference in matters of religion! Divines, therefore, confine themselves to the old formula: *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*

On the other side, it may be said, has not the State also its duties to fulfil? As trustee of the public purse, is it not its duty to respect the pecuniary rights and religious convictions of all its members? In order to facilitate the attendance at school of the whole of the children of the working classes, is it not its duty to pull down the barriers which are opposed, by the differences in religious belief, to the full progress of lay secular instruction? It is difficult to foretell the issue of a contest in which the highest authorities would be found engaged on one side or the other; but one thing is very certain, whatever may be said, that the Government has no intention of undermining the foundation of the Church in England.

Elementary instruction is, after all, chiefly in the hands of the clergy. For example, if it is re-

quired to nominate a schoolmaster, he is selected by the parson of the parish, who is in many cases the sole manager of the school. Generally, however, four or five laymen, members of the Church of England, are chosen by the subscribers to assist the minister in the exercise of this control, their names also being entered in the trust-deed. He goes in and out of the school as if it were his own house; the children all know and respect him; they are something like a second family to him. In some countries, one might be frightened at contemplating the great influence exercised by the Church over the instruction of the people; but the causes of distrust which operate elsewhere do not exist in England. Here both riches and knowledge impose their obligations. A clergyman, belonging to the richer and educated classes, feels bound to communicate to those beneath him some of those benefits which he himself has received from society. The Protestant clergy, besides, have no dread of enlightenment; for experience has shown them that, among an independent people, education is alone able to form a guarantee against the abuse of the liberty enjoyed.

What a change also has shown itself, since the early years of this century, in the whole appearance of the buildings devoted to elementary instruction! Years ago, in the country, the duties of the schoolmaster were sometimes assumed by the barber; and the emblems of his trade—a long pole with a shaving-

dish on the end—figured in front of his shop or of his school, whichever you may like to call it. At the present day, the place where the children assemble for instruction is often nothing but an old brick building; but the inside walls are neatly white-washed, and ornamented with pictures, geographical charts, or various scientific appliances. During summer time, the joyous rays of the sun and the sweet song of the birds come in through the open windows, all hung round with a leafy curtain. Nothing has been neglected which can render instruction attractive; for it is well understood that ignorance is the only enemy that English institutions have to dread. The happy effects of this system of education, in which the State and the clergy both concur, are not confined to the mother country alone; the benefits are extended also to the Colonies, to which every year such vast numbers of emigrants make their way. Some years ago, sixteen young girls were sent from a workhouse school to Australia. All of them found suitable positions, and one had the good fortune to marry a man of large fortune. Having subsequently returned to England, she went in her carriage to pay a visit to the workhouse where she had spent her early years; and having sent for the schoolmistress, she said to her, "How heartily I thank you! for I owe it to your kind care, and to the lessons you taught me, that I have been able to acquire this position in the world."

Although the English clergy fully believe that they are following out a Divine work, it is nevertheless by human and material means that they seek to attain success. In this last point of view the Church among our neighbours does not escape the attacks of criticism; some reproach her for her great wealth, and others lay to her charge the confusion in her doctrines, and the divisions with which she is rent. There are other grievances complained of which we shall touch upon in our remarks on Religious Life in Towns. For my own part, I am at the present time struck with the harmony which subsists between Protestantism and English institutions generally. In other European countries the question of religion has often been a source of social conflict. If a nation had the good fortune to secure for itself, after a revolution, the forms of representative government, she next day found herself face to face with an inflexible opinionated class of ideas, independent of all control by the civil powers. The new government had then to contend, in the consciences of its subjects, with a law that was above the law, with an absolute authority superior to that of the State, and with a foreign and infallible sovereign, whose oracles, and sometimes even anathemas, checked at every step the march of progress.

Nothing of the kind has existed in England since the Revolution of 1688. By diminishing the supremacy of the ecclesiastical body, and by harmonising

religious institutions with political authority, the State threw aside beforehand one of the principal causes of discord. This absence of absolutism in articles of faith has rendered easy,—across the Channel,—the victory of a constitutional *régime;* for there was already rooted in the habits of the people a religion based on the great principle of the liberty of investigation, and on the individual responsibility of every man towards God and his own conscience. Since the above date the English people have exercised a continual control, if not over the foundation of dogmas, at least over the external forms through which they are manifested. With them the power that makes the laws is the same that presides over the affairs of the National Church. The clergy are married, and, to a certain extent, functionaries of the State; they are, therefore, bound to the maintenance of the constitution, and form by no means a separate caste in society. They may, perhaps, be animated by a certain *esprit de corps;* but their interest and their duties incessantly draw them back into the great currents of public opinion. The Church, thus joined to the State, forms the key-stone to the arch of the political edifice, and this edifice itself exists in England only by the nation's will.

CHAPTER IV.

Religious Life in Towns—Lambeth Palace—The Chapel, the Great Hall, and the Guard Room—The prison in the Lollards' Tower—Dungeon of detention—Organisation of the Church of England—The two Primates—The Archbishop of Canterbury—Annual visit of the Stationers' Company to Lambeth Palace—The archiepiscopal city of Canterbury—The "Tabard" Inn—Chaucer and Shakespeare—Palace Street—St. Martin's church—Origin of Christianity in England—St. Augustin, first Archbishop of Canterbury—External appearance of the cathedral and cloisters—Sunday service in a Protestant temple—Thomas à Becket—Nature of a cathedral chapter—Organisation of deans and canons—The chapter of Canterbury.

At the first glance, who would suspect that the English had any system of worship at all? The streets and public places are with them so devoid of any parade of their religion; the priest is blended with the citizen; and neither sacred images, nor processions, nor priestly vestments, are ever to be met with in the open air. There is little else but the strict observance of the Sabbath that gives any outward indication that England is a Christian nation, and even on that day religious feelings seem to withdraw themselves into the churches and houses. The potency of the institution of the Sabbath does not, however, rest in the law, but in the force of public opinion, and in the

customs of the people. The law is very tolerant, but not so the customs which here watch over the popular faith. In principle, every one is master in his own house; but almost every householder is provided with neighbours who would feel scandalised at the sound of profane music on Sunday. Even the children in the parks and public promenades refrain from running about and joining in noisy games and from immoderate laughter. We may judge from this what a restraint would be imposed by feelings of public propriety on any course of action calculated to trample on the national usages. Sunday is also the only day of rest laid down by the law; the English certainly keep a few other holidays, such as Christmas-day and Good Friday; but they are not at all of the same nature as the Sundays. Good Friday is for the working classes a great day for excursions and pleasure-taking, for it does not enter into the character of the Anglo-Saxon to give himself up to the gloom of a tearful piety. As for Christmas it is, with our neighbours the day above all others for family festivals.

In Great Britain religion is based on universal consent, and although it may appear but little in outward forms, it has not the less deeply impressed its stamp on the ideas, the literature, and the mode of life of the English. There also exists in the very bosom of the nation a strongly constituted Church, whose internal mechanism is moulded on the model

of their civil institutions. The Queen is the head both of Church and State; but in matters of faith especially she reigns, but does not govern. The executive power in the spiritual body is represented by the primates, the bishops, and the chapters; the legislative power, on the other hand,—as far as any exists,—is located in the ecclesiastical convocations. The country clergy* are united to those in the towns, as well as to the superior authorities, by various intermediate officials, and especially, in certain dioceses, by the *rural deans*. It is this organisation which I wish to represent to the reader by placing him, as it were, on the very scene of action.

Various congregations have been formed without the pale of the Established Church, who maintain the right of worshipping God in their own way, and who are designated under the general term of *Dissenters* or *Nonconformists*. Some among them cast aside all kinds of rites and ceremonies; even kneeling down, in their eyes, is a degradation. Under all this contempt of certain practices, there is, however, hidden a collection of dogmas and duties to which these sects adhere with a frigid obstinacy. This religious life is spread over the whole of England; but the towns, and above all the cathedral cities, are the best places in which to form a correct idea both of the system as a whole and also in its various details.

* See Chapter I.

The Archbishop of Canterbury forms the connecting link between the Queen and the Anglican clergy; it is therefore quite natural that he should have his palace in London, the seat of government, instead of residing in his diocese. Lambeth Palace, built on the banks of the Thames, has been the appanage of the Primates of All England since the time of Richard I. Lambeth was once a suburban village, which has now become merged in the perpetual encroachments of London, and has ended in forming a portion of the metropolis. The best way of going to it is by water; steamboats, starting from London Bridge, carry throngs of passengers to it all day long, stopping, however, at various stations, formed by floating jetties fastened by chains, which rise and fall with the periodical ebb and flow of the tide. Going up the river, we leave on the right St. Paul's, Somerset House, the Houses of Parliament, bristling all over with stone pinnacles, and Westminster Abbey; and then, on the opposite bank of the river, we soon see a sombre edifice partaking both of an ecclesiastical and baronial character. The outline of some very old buildings scattered about in the green foliage, but joined together by an outer wall following the course of the river, is nearly all that we are able to distinguish at a first and distant view.

At last the steamer stops, and having reached the shore and ascended the steep bank, we find our-

selves in a small open space, on the left of which stands the great fortified gate of the palace, a gloomy façade of red brick, flanked with two high square and embattled towers, standing out boldly from the walls, and pierced with five rows of narrow windows enclosed with iron bars. This gate was rebuilt in 1490 by Cardinal Morton, and took the place of a still sterner-looking one, of which it was said, "that it was made in order to welcome friends and to repulse enemies." Even as it now is, it seemed to me in its rude feudal beauty quite menacing enough, and I rather hesitated for an instant to raise the knocker on a small door, modernly and deeply cut out in the form of a pointed arch in the thickness of the wall between the towers.

A porter came and opened the door to me; I informed him of the aim of my visit, and showed him a letter which had been sent me by the directions of the Archbishop, and which authorised me to inspect the interior of the palace. Whilst he read and re-read the terms of this missive, I had time enough to look round me at the appearance of the place. I was standing under a massive arched vault, supported by four stout pillars placed at the four corners, from the capitals of which spring fine stone mouldings, intersecting one another at acute angles at the centre of the roof. The porter's lodge opens on the right, whilst through the vast opening of the archway between the two towers the outer court is visible, also

known under the name of the *Bishop's Walk*. It is in fact a sort of garden, bounded on the left by an ivy-covered wall, and on the right, from one end to another, by the library, which was once the banqueting-hall. In every detail of this latter building it is easy to recognise the debased style of architecture which flourished in England in the time of Charles II. Its roof, supported on abutments or buttresses with quoins of white stone, rises somewhat feebly into the air, and is ornamented, or rather loaded, with great globes overtopping the frieze, and is crowned in the centre with a lantern of a quaint style. The walk is closed up at the end by an old tower, the *Water Tower*, faced with stone eaten away by time; and with this building is connected, at a little distance off, the *Lollards' Tower*, of evil memory. When the porter had at last made himself master of the contents of the letter, he informed me that he would ring for the housekeeper, and that I might proceed by a way which he would point out to the archbishop's apartments in the inner court.

The entrance to this inner court is through another vaulted doorway adjoining the manuscript room, leading into a large uncovered space, in the middle of which is a green lawn surmounted by an ornamented cross carrying gas-lights. In front there is a high wall hiding the stables, and indeed itself half hidden with fine trees; whilst on the left there are old buildings to which more modern structures

are joined on with a certain degree of harmony. It would be difficult to decide on any one epoch for the building; for that which remains of the ancient part of it seems to belong to several different periods of art. The architect of the more modern portions has adopted a mixed style, which cleverly links together the more discordant parts of the edifice.

The porter's signal had been understood, and a female in black was waiting for me on the threshold of the entrance-hall. The archbishop was not there, and it may be easily understood that he would not be sorry to get away from the gloomy solemnity of his official residence. I walked through a considerable number of apartments furnished in a simple and sober way befitting the dignity of an ecclesiastical palace. The walls were here and there ornamented with fine pictures; amongst which I especially remarked the portrait of Archbishop Warham by Holbein, and also that of Luther clasping the hand of his wife. The most interesting parts of the building are the chapel, the great hall, and the guard-room.

The chapel is very ancient, in the early English style, and may well have been the work of the warlike founder of Lambeth palace.* In this very

* Matthew Paris gives an account of an armed quarrel between Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Prior of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield. It was, however, this scandalous scene which gave cause for the erection of the ecclesiastical palace at Lambeth towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

chapel Wycliffe, who was afterwards styled the Precursor of the Reformation, appeared before a council of Papal delegates assembled to pronounce on his doctrines. The affair, however, took rather an awkward turn, when the people dared to force their way into the sacred place, and some citizens of London spoke boldly in favour of the accused. Before this mental commotion the proud prelates "trembled," says a Catholic historian, "like reeds shaken by the wind; their language, which up to this time had been harsh and threatening, became then as sweet as honey."* They merely forbade Wycliffe to repeat his heretical propositions, either in the schools or in the pulpit. Yet they were destined to be again repeated two centuries later with still greater effect; and the echoes of this chapel first trembled at these new doctrines, and afterwards succumbed to them.

The great hall, rebuilt in 1570, and at the present day converted into a library, is adorned with a splendid window facing the door of entrance; the painted glass in which, comprising the portrait of Archbishop Chicheley and the coats-of-arms of Juxon and of Philip of Spain, husband of Mary Tudor, has been collected together from the other parts of the ancient palace. How striking is the richness of the

* This historian is Walsingham, author of the *Historia Anglicæ*. According to his account, this fear-inspired indulgence was very prejudicial to the dignity both of the legates and of the Church generally.

carved wainscoting and the vaulted roof, borne on semicircular arches of oak or chestnut, and between them the elegantly carved centre bosses, boldly cut out with the chisel. In this great hall the primates of all England in the olden time used to entertain their guests—princes, peers, and high dignitaries of the Church. The annals of the period have handed down many traditions of the magnificence of these festivals.

Before you reach the guard-room, there is a gallery lighted by four lanterns or glazed skylights, which throw down the light from the ceiling. On the walls is spread out a series of portraits of the former archbishops. The whole religious history of England is here. The chief events which have, during long ages, disturbed the conscience of a nation, seem to live over again in these cold and silent faces. What a stately council of the dead is here! Among the representatives of these successive ages, the eye first seeks out the epoch of the Reformation, the "*point de la rupture*," as Bossuet calls it. First of all there is Cranmer, the noble martyr who was burnt at Oxford. Between him and the Protestant Archbishop Parker is placed, like a blood-stain, Cardinal Pole, awaking all the terrible recollections of Mary Tudor. Other memorials of troublous times follow in quick succession,—the portrait of Laud, painted by Van Dyck; the archbishop who, as is well known, ascended the scaffold, on

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which Charles I. was soon to follow him. With Juxon we reach the violent era of the Restoration, when the sword was turned round against the Puritans. Gradually the storm subsides, and the series of Protestant archbishops, calm henceforth in the consciousness of victory, is continued as far as the walls of the *guard-room*, now used as the state dining-room. This uninterrupted succession of ancient and modern primates serves well to explain the idea of the Anglican Church. In her line of continuity the Reformation is neither a gap nor a severance; it is merely a development.

Lambeth Palace has been styled the British Vatican. And, in fact, how many reminiscences are crowded under those stern arches, haunted by all the ghosts of history! Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, nay almost all the Kings and Queens of England have come there to consult the Archbishops of Canterbury on affairs of Church and State. Peter the Great has been there also; Latimer, Thomas More, and the Catholic Archbishop Fisher were, in turn, imprisoned there on account of their religious opinions; for this palace was once a prison also, and former archbishops were in the habit of combining with their office as primate that of an inquisitor also. The sinister glory of having been the first to commence religious persecutions belongs, it is said, to Archbishop Arundel, who in 1401 caused a priest named William Sawtre to be degraded and burnt in Smithfield. Chicheley,

who succeeded Arundel, did not wish, as it seemed, to be in any way behind his predecessor, and ordered the building of the Lollards' Tower.* This was the portion of the palace I had not yet visited.

The way to it is through the *Water Tower*, at the base of which is a vaulted chamber called the *post-room*. There is, in fact, in the centre of it a wooden post, which, as firm as a tree, partly helps to support the mass of the tower. Tradition will have it that it was to this post that they used to tie heretics when they wished to inflict on them the torture of the lash. This chamber communicates at one end with the chapel, where repenting Lollards might, if they wished, pronounce their recantation, and at the other end with the tower, the rough stone steps of which I mounted with some degree of emotion. All has remained intact in this portion of the palace, — the gaoler's room, the cells, the dungeon, the platform, and the niches ornamented with Gothic sculpture, among which, on the outside,

* The name of this sect, which took its rise in Germany at the commencement of the fourteenth century, has very much exercised the learning of etymologists. Some derive it from the German word *lullen*, *lillen*, or *lallen*, signifying *to sing*; others from the Latin word *lolium* (tares), in allusion to the parable of the Evangelist; and others from Walter Lollard, or Lolhard, one of the chiefs of the sect. It is certain that the epithet of *Lollard* was subsequently used in England to designate all classes of heretics. It was applied in the latter sense, in England, to the followers of Wycliffe.

figures the statue of Thomas à Becket. Going up the spiral staircase, we reach the first floor of the tower through a heavy door, studded with large-headed nails and strengthened with large pieces of oak. Opening this door, groaning on its rusty hinges, we find ourselves in a small dungeon, measuring about thirteen feet in length and eleven and a half feet in width. This chamber is now lighted by two small windows; but formerly, if I may believe my cicerone, its only means of light was a small aperture in the form of a loop-hole, and it was consequently wrapped in obscurity. The walls and flag-stones are furnished with thick, ill-planed planks, on which may be seen iron rings riveted in at intervals, and on these rings there still hung, some forty years ago, the remains of chains. To each of these rings,—I counted seven of them,—used to be fastened a prisoner, tantalised by all the charms of life and nature outside. There seemed to be a refinement of cruelty even in the elevated position of the prison: the captives could hear from the Thames the ripple of the water stirred by the oar, the song of the birds, and the rustling of the leaves; for the tops of the tall trees nearly touched the sides of the tower. A place for a chimney seemed to open on one side of the cell; but the chimney itself is nothing but a deceit; there is no passage for the smoke, which beat back into the room and suffocated the unfortunate victims. It was, doubtless, one way of dealing

with intractable heretics. There is still a trap-door in the floor, lifted up by an iron ring, communicating with the river through a gloomy-looking hole; down this they used to throw the dead bodies. The wooden lining hiding the walls of the prison is covered all over with almost illegible characters, scratched with the point of a nail or cut with a knife. They may be looked upon as hieroglyphics written by the hands of the dead on the walls of their sepulchre.

Yet this dungeon, with all its horrors, could not impose silence on human thought. The prisons were no longer large enough, and it became necessary to establish at the entrance of the palace, close by the lodge now occupied by the porter, a dungeon for the temporary reception of the Lollards when there was no room in the tower. Tradition tells us that a certain man named Grafton, whose name is inscribed on the wall with his own hands, perished in this chamber. Do not such localities as these inspire us with reflections,—sad enough, but still salutary? With the lapse of time, the dungeon at Lambeth has become victorious over the palace. From the dark night of the prison-cell that liberty of thought which they were bent on interdicting has come forth triumphant. The shades of those whom, in bygone ages, they cast down into the flowing river, are to-day the ruling powers in these solitary galleries, under the sway of a Protestant archbishop.

Independently of the Queen,—the lay chief of the spiritual power, — the Church recognises two primates, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York. The first is Primate of *all* England and Metropolitan, whilst the latter is only Primate of England; a subtle distinction, certainly, but still not badly expressing the degrees of rank. The Archbishop of Canterbury has the honour of crowning the Sovereign soon after the accession to the throne, whilst the Archbishop of York crowns the Royal Consort only. In public ceremonies the two primates take precedence before all temporal peers who are not of the blood-royal, and the Lord Chancellor of England takes his place between the two prelates. The Archbishop of Canterbury being the acknowledged chief of the Church, is the prelate appealed to by the ministers of State to consult with them in all matters relative to religion. In the House of Lords his opinions, when they are not opposed during the sitting of Parliament by the other ecclesiastical peers, are held to represent the sentiments of the episcopal bench.

England is divided, in a spiritual point of view, into two great provinces, Canterbury and York; both of which, on the other hand, are subdivided into dioceses, and the two archbishops exercise an actual jurisdiction over their suffragan bishops. Between the former and the latter there also exist more than one honorary distinction. The archbishop, in official

style, exercises his functions "by Divine providence," whilst the bishops occupy their sees "by Divine permission" only. At his accession to his diocese a bishop is only *installed;* the archbishop, on the contrary, is *enthroned.* After all, these external signs only serve to indicate the gradations of hierarchical authority. It very frequently happens that the Archbishop of York succeeds to the throne of Canterbury when it becomes vacant, and Dr. Longley, the present Primate of all England, is no exception to this general rule. The emoluments of the Archbishop of Canterbury amount to 15,000*l.* a-year.

By a very ancient custom, money, bread, and victuals are given away at Lambeth Palace three times a week to ten poor people belonging to the parish of Lambeth. This parish is one of the worst provided parishes in London, and the palace stands in the midst of a mixture of miserable houses, in which every kind of poverty abounds. On the days of distribution, a dingy-looking group waits in front of the great feudal gateway until the door is opened, and, as the ten claimants are changed on each occasion, thirty poor people in all receive this charity. The episcopal residence was in the habit of receiving once a year quite a different class of visitors. On the day of the installation of the new Lord Mayor, a procession by water used to take place on the Thames. When Archbishop Tennison held the see of Canterbury, one of his relations, who was master

of the Stationers' Company, took it into his head to go on as far as Lambeth in his canopied barge. The archbishop sent out wine for the merchants, and new bread, old cheese, and plenty of ale for the boatmen of the corporation. Next year the same barge again stopped before the walls of the old palace, and received the same hospitality. At the present day this annual visit has passed out of use.*

The official residence of the primates of all England is certainly in London; but if you want to form a good idea of an ancient archiepiscopal see, you must go to Canterbury itself. Before leaving London for this latter city, I visited the Tabard or Talbot Inn, in memory of Chaucer and his joyous pilgrims. This old inn is situate near the London-Bridge railway station, at the end of a court opening into High Street, Borough. On the right in this court there is a public-house of a tolerably modern appearance,

* Dr. Longley now occupies the see of Canterbury. Born at Rochester in 1794, he first studied at Westminster School, from whence he passed to the University of Oxford. Nominated Public Examiner in 1815, he afterwards became Tutor and Censor at Christ Church. He was presented by this college to the small living of Cowley, a village in the environs of Oxford. In 1829 he became Head Master of Harrow School. In 1831 he married Caroline, eldest daughter of the first Lord Congleton. The see of Ripon having been founded in 1830, he became its first bishop. After having been promoted from the see of Ripon to that of Durham, and from thence to the Archbishopric of York, he was finally, in 1862, invested with the supreme dignity in the Church of England.

although the interior of it still retains some traces of antiquity. On the left, and fronting the public-house, there is a much older building, doubling round the end of the court, with a gloomy ground-floor; and on the first-floor an open gallery, protected by a wooden balustrade along its whole length, and divided at intervals by light round pillars, supporting an old, high-pitched, tiled roof. This building, which seems but little modernised, serves at present as a dépôt for the goods traffic of the Midland Railway, and there has been some talk of pulling it down. A defaced picture, the colours of which have been long since washed out by the rain, is placed above the gallery. In days gone by, one might have read the following inscription: "This is the inn where Geoffrey Chaucer and twenty-nine pilgrims lodged, the eve of their journey to Canterbury in 1383." I will leave the archæologists to decide the question whether this be really the hostelrie which the poet sung of, or whether another inn has been built at some unknown era on the same spot.

I did not immoderately regret the good old times when devotion led one to plod along on foot in making a pilgrimage, and when "the poetry of travelling," as it is called, was in full perfection; so I willingly made up my mind to go by railroad. My travelling companions certainly did not at all resemble Chaucer's gay pilgrims. Instead of beguiling the length of the journey—not very long, though,

nowadays—by tales and merry talk, each of them preserved, in his separate seat, a silence most decidedly British. How many things steam has changed! After two or three hours, during which I saw flit by me, as in a dream, the well-known scenery of Kent, we passed into the middle of a rich valley,—the valley of the Stour,—surrounded with hills dotted over with clumps of trees and windmills, and through immense meadows, in which one was almost surprised to see the cows quietly feeding. These, at any rate, must have escaped the cattle-plague now devastating England. A few clear rivulets make their way down the gentle declivities of the hills, and serve to water the hop-gardens; and then, after making numberless windings, without, as it were, venturing to enter the town, they mostly run into the Stour, a small stream with its bed all bordered with long trailing plants, undulated by the rippling of the water, like the tresses of a Naiad. This stream, at any rate, has no hesitation, and boldly makes its way into Canterbury, first hurling itself, under the shade of some old trees, against the wheel of a mill.

On arriving at Canterbury by railway, the city lies spread out on the right, and the cathedral stands out over the smoky roofs into the clear sky, its three towers almost obscured by a cloud of jackdaws. These ancient temples are like sleeping beauties in the wood, and seem to render every thing drowsy

round them. Thus it is that this old city of Canterbury has preserved for ages the appearance of a town which slumbers, wrapped up in its religious traditions and its thoroughly English routine. It has no manufactories, no workshops, scarcely any local trade. The inhabitants derive their livelihood almost entirely from agriculture and the cultivation of the hop. We enter by the west gate, a gloomy machicolated mass of stone, flanked with two large round towers, on each side of which the remains of the old wall can still be traced out, which, though now pulled down, used to serve as the boundaries of the city. Before passing under this archway of formidable aspect, I spied out in the main street of the suburb an old inn, with the portrait of Falstaff in front of it—a character easily to be recognised by his great stomach and pimpled nose. Now, what on earth could this king of drunkards have to do in an ecclesiastical city? I had scarcely asked myself this question, when I bethought me of the passage in Henry IV., where Poins proposes to Falstaff and his bold companions to start together for Gad's-hill, and there to lay violent hands on "the pilgrims going to Canterbury with rich offerings, and the traders riding from Canterbury to London with their fat purses." Chaucer and Shakspeare, then, are the two literary patrons of this ancient city.

The more one advances into the heart of the town the more one seems to plunge, so to speak, into the

middle ages. Groups of winding streets, pierced with narrow alleys and mysterious-looking passages, are closely crowded round the cathedral. Most of the old houses, with their lean-to roofs and pointed gables, have been freshened up and coloured with whitewash; some, on the contrary, have remained in their primitive state. Among the latter I particularly noticed a very old house in Palace Street, with plaster walls framed with wooden beams; it had windows latticed with lead, and grotesque figures serving as supports to the angle of the architraves.* It was also distinguished by having its outside quite peopled with swallows. These winged architects had lodged their masonry in every available corner outside the floors which overhung the street, and in order to protect their insecure nests, which no doubt were thought to bring good fortune to the house, the inhabitants had taken the trouble to support them with pieces of wood.

Tradition will have it that many of these half-ruined though picturesque dwellings served as inns for the pilgrims who succeeded one another so numerously in the city of Canterbury. Mercery Lane is pointed out, especially, as the spot where a great

* Those rough wooden carvings, that we meet with in many other parts of the city, generally represent a fawn squatting down, with pointed ears, goat's feet, and the breast of a woman. The violent effort they seem to make to support the projecting parts of the architecture has the appearance of hideously stretching the sinews of the neck.

hostelrie once stood, in which Chaucer and his companions took up their abode, after coming from the "Tabard" in Southwark; this lane, however, has now lost much of its character. A quiet life seems to have inspired the inhabitants of Canterbury with a taste for flower-growing. I recall with pleasure a narrow street where the casements presented one uninterrupted line of window-gardens cultivated with a high degree of skill. All this floral array seemed to spread an air of youth and freshness over the old walls. But all this is not exactly what I came to Canterbury to see. I ought first to visit those parts of the city in which can be traced out something of the origin of Christianity in England, and those also which can give an idea of the present condition of the national church.

Outside the ancient ramparts, on the further side of a hill, stands the little church of St. Martin. It is a perfect model of an English country church, and is surrounded by a lovely churchyard, in which the white tombs covered with flowers form a pleasing contrast to the dark shrubs with their red berries. The tower of St. Martin's, gracefully overgrown with ivy, overlooks rather an extensive prospect, and the simple lines of the architecture altogether seem to breathe an air of chaste antiquity. Tradition states that this edifice was constructed by the Romans who came to colonise England in the reign of Claudius, many of whom were Christians. Everything,

however, appears to show that a part of the church, at least, was rebuilt at the commencement of the 12th century, with the materials of another and more ancient chapel. The outside walls, although they have been latterly plastered over and repaired, exhibit every here and there Roman tiles, which have been laid bare by the dropping off of the cement. Bede relates that when Augustin, England's great apostle, arrived at Canterbury, about 597 A.D., he found there two ancient Christian churches, one situated within the walls to the east, the other standing a short distance from the ramparts. The first of these two churches was converted into what is now called the cathedral; the latter is, as we have every reason to believe, the present church of St. Martin.

It is not generally known that England under the Saxon rule was a sort of nursery for providing white slaves for all the markets in the south of Europe, just as Kentucky not long ago furnished negroes to all the neighbouring States that wished for that article of commerce. Gregory the Great, then a simple monk, passing one day down the streets of Rome, was struck with the beauty of some young people exposed for sale, and inquired what country they came from. Having ascertained that they were Anglo-Saxons, he determined to be of some service to their island.* A

* A pun is attributed to him, which is quite in the taste of the period. "If they were only Christians," he is reported to have said, "they would be angels (*angeli*), and not Angles (*Angli*) merely."

few years after, he was elected Pope, and recollecting these poor captives, he sent Augustin, or Austin, with forty monks, in order to convert to Christianity the worshippers of Thor and Odin. The missionaries disembarked in the Isle of Thanet, and advanced as far as Canterbury, the capital of the kingdom of Kent, where the court was then residing. They found the ground all prepared for them. Bertha, the wife of the Saxon king Ethelbert, was already a Christian, and, if tradition can be believed, was in the habit, even before the arrival of the monks, of celebrating, together with her attendants, the mysteries of her faith in the little chapel of St. Martin. At the present time this church is divided into three distinct parts: the porch, which has been lately restored; the nave, at the entrance of which stands a very ancient font of grayish marble, in which it is alleged that Ethelbert was baptized by St. Augustin; and lastly, the chancel, on the left of which, in a recess of the wall, lies a massive stone coffin said to contain the remains of Queen Bertha. I was giving myself up to the poetry of reminiscence diffused through the dim light of the vaulted arches, and to the reflections naturally inspired by this cradle of English Christianity, when the doors suddenly opened admitting a crowd of people. It was Sunday afternoon, and the little church, founded by the Romans, was to be utilised to-day for the service of the Anglican worship.

This St. Augustin was the first Archbishop of

Canterbury. King Ethelbert gave up to him his palace in the town to be turned into a monastery, of which there still remain some remarkable vestiges.* He also made over to him the church which had been built by the primitive Christians within the city-walls, and on the foundation of which another edifice was soon raised, dedicated to Christ; from thence comes the name of *Christ Church*, which the cathedral still bears. Augustin had come with the intention of placing England under the spiritual authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, or as Protestants would say, of the Bishop of Rome. His views appear to have met with serious opposition on the part of the ancient Christian church, which, although it had been for a long time persecuted by the Saxons, still existed, and wished to maintain its independence against the usurpations of this new religious power. When England was consolidated into one monarchy, the city of Canterbury lost much of its political consequence, but as the ecclesiastical metropolis of the kingdom it increased more and more in importance. Its cathedral, the work of ages, embraces the whole

* This abbey, having fallen into ruins, was occupied some years back by a brewery, a public-house, and a bowling-green. In 1844 the remains of this ancient religious edifice were sold by auction, and Mr. Beresford Hope bought them, in order to turn them into a college for Protestant missionaries. The exterior of the great gate is much to be admired; it has been latterly restored, or at any rate repaired.

history of the revolutions of religious thought as they have affected our neighbours across Channel.

We approach the cathedral through the precinct-gate, an ancient stone façade, blackened by time, and covered with carvings more or less effaced, having a central low pointed arch, bearing the date 1517. This gate seems to show that the cathedral precincts were formerly surrounded by a wall, and that the ecclesiastical quarter thus formed, as it were, a town within a town. This ancient arrangement is still to some extent respected. It is true that some houses of a secular character have broken through the sacred boundary, and this much to the detriment of the central edifice, to which at least they prevent access; but the area is still generally occupied by the dwellings and gardens of the prebendaries. This enclosure is divided into three courts, called the Cathedral Court, the Priory Court, and the Archbishop's Court. The ancient palace of the archbishops is now nothing but a ruin. Of the Priory, destroyed by Henry VIII., there only now remain some broken doorways, some massive pillars supporting semicircular arches, a fine Norman staircase, and some dark and mysterious passages in which the bats flit about at nightfall. Some large trees, almost as old as the walls, cross and recross one another, straggling about amidst the old materials of buildings, bricks, stones, and flints. It is difficult to picture the wonderful effect of the thick masses of foliage seen through the

pointed arches in these gloomy corridors, where the footstep resounds on the hollow and sonorous flags. In the middle of these ruins and gardens intermixed stands the cathedral.

This edifice has been too often described to render it necessary for me to pause over its architectural details; it will suffice for me to point out the internal arrangements that Anglican Protestantism has sought to impose on the ancient metropolitan churches. At present, to reach the portion of the cathedral actually devoted to worship, we must pass through an empty nave, with its side aisles incrusted with the monuments of the dead. The stately nakedness of this part of the building makes the grandeur of its lines and the elevation of its roof stand out to all the better advantage. A triple stone staircase leads from the nave to the choir, which is veiled by a rich stone screen carved with Gothic figures, in the middle of which opens an iron gate. This choir is isolated from the rest of the edifice by an enclosure of Purbeck marble, surmounted, at a certain height, by glass, and is a kind of church within a church. The services take place in it on Sunday and throughout the week. On the right stands the archbishop's throne, and there is also a seat for the archdeacon, and stalls for the dean and prebendaries. The remainder of the wooden seats are occupied by those attending the service and the charity-schools. Two officiating ministers, clothed with the insignia of their

canonical dignity, commence the prayers. The Sunday service, although the same in all material points, is celebrated in cathedrals with much more solemnity than in other Protestant churches. Instead of reading them, all the words are chanted; and the full voices of the tenors, almost overpowered by the high-pitched notes of the choristers, are mingled at intervals with the majestic tones of the organ. At the proper time, one of the ministers proceeds to the elevated part in front of the communion-table, separated from the choir by some marble steps, and shut in at the sides by the tombs of the ancient archbishops. Standing alone, and at a distance from the congregation, he intones with a deep voice the verses of the Decalogue. After the chanting of the prayers, a preacher, one of the chapter, reads the sermon, which lasts about half an hour. The music, the prayers, and the sermon, joined to some very simple ceremonies, form all the services which are authorised, even in cathedrals, by the stern austerity of the Protestant ritual.

To fill up these great piles of stone it requires the worship of the saints, the glittering processions of priests in their golden chasubles, the sacred vessels gleaming at the back of the altar in a perfect sun of diamonds, and the clear brilliancy of the wax-lights. All this splendour has vanished since the Reformation, and the Church seems now to be doing penance for her former idolatry; for this is, in fact,

the term which the English apply to the pomps of the Romish worship. In the place of a liturgy which smothered thought under the weight of external symbolism, they have sought to substitute a religion which speaks to the soul.

Under this choir extends a crypt, which forms the most ancient portion of the church, and the origin of which is traced back to Archbishop Lanfranc (1070 to 1077). There, in the midst of the low massive pillars, and in the dark vaults, crumbling under the weight of their venerable antiquity, a very different religious service is celebrated. I was quite surprised to light upon traces of France in such a place. The Calvinist refugees, who were forced to leave the Low Countries by the cruelties of the Duke of Alba, and subsequently the French Huguenots, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came some of them to settle in Canterbury. Queen Elizabeth granted to them this portion of the cathedral in which they might freely perform their worship. Most of these French Protestants were silk-weavers, and they established manufactures in the town, which now no longer exist, but which at one period tended to enrich the productions of our neighbours with a new branch of industry. Their descendants have forgotten the language of their mother country, but they still meet to exercise their religious rites in these cold vaults, which no doubt remind them of the unhappy times of persecution.

The choir being the only part devoted to worship, the remainder of the cathedral forms a kind of Christian *Musée*, the entry, however, to which is forbidden to the public during the time of divine worship. What treasures there are for the antiquary in these disused chapels! Aisles paved with tombs, monuments covered with escutcheons, pierced and ragged banners, the very spiders' webs of glory! In the ancient chapel of the Holy Trinity a venerable chair is shown, formed of three slabs of marble, which, according to tradition, was the seat of the ancient Saxon kings; at the present day the Archbishops of Canterbury are placed in this chair at the time of their enthronement. Tourists never fail to sit down in it when visiting the cathedral; and the Englishwomen are not backward in setting the example, though they generally complain of the hard seat in this arm-chair cut out of the rock.

One reminiscence seems to fill the whole of the cathedral of Canterbury, and it is the only one that I shall notice. We can still walk over the same path that Thomas à Becket trod, when he retired through the cloisters into the interior of the church, the day on which he was threatened by Reginald Fitzurse and his companions in arms. Here, too, is the very stone—an old altar step—on which he fell. Not far from the door leading from the cloisters to this chapel of St. Benedict is the chapter-house, where Henry II. came to do penance, two years after the murder, with

naked feet, covered with sackcloth, and offering his back, in all humility, to the lashing of the monks. Behind the choir was subsequently erected the famous shrine containing the relics of the martyr; and the pavement which surrounds it is marked and indented by the knees of the pilgrims. Even the very name of Christ disappeared from the building, and it was then called the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and he was, as it were, the god of the temple. The truth is, that in the Middle Ages, Thomas à Becket represented the great contest that was going on between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. Thus his memory, in the present day even, is a kind of party-banner in England, rousing up the two old factions which are still alive and bitter against one another. Those who are accused of wishing for a spiritual supremacy generally defend Thomas à Becket as one of their own party, whilst the opponents of the old priestly privileges personify in this archbishop all the unjust pretensions of a church which was destined to fall sooner or later before the progress of enlightenment.

In order to understand the nature of an episcopal city at the present time, we must trace out the historical origin of Christianity in England. At first the church had all the character of a mission, and the residence of the clergy was in the bishop's palace. From thence he sent out his priests to perform religious services, and to preach all over his diocese, and

thither also they returned when they had performed the duties assigned to them. The cathedral formed the bishop's mission church and the centre from which his influence radiated.

When the parochial system was subsequently established, the bond of union of these primitive associations was broken up, and the members of the clergy, instead of being collected round the bishop, were scattered about in the various towns and villages, to which also they transferred their places of residence. The bishop, however, retained a certain number round his person to assist him in councils and to officiate in the metropolitan church. Thus was formed what is now called the *chapter*. At first those composing it lived together in common; but in the lapse of time they separated, and took up their abode in private houses round the cathedral. A portion of food and drink, known under the name of *prebend*, was originally assigned to each; this was subsequently commuted for a sum of money levied on the property and tithes belonging to each chapter. The prebendaries lived under certain rules, but did not necessarily take monastic vows. After the eighth century, the bishop was wont to nominate one of them to take his place in case of his absence and to rule over the others. This, therefore, is the origin of *deans*.

To the dean and chapter thus constituted was intrusted the care of the cathedral. They were

bound to provide for the proper solemnisation of the religious services, and to pay out of their common revenue the officials whom they had nominated for this purpose. As many of them, no doubt, were inclined to absent themselves from the diocesan city, and to take too long periods of leisure, a time of obligatory residence was fixed for each canon. This rule varied in different dioceses; at York the term of residence was six months, whilst at Chichester it embraced three quarters of the year. The *residentiary* was bound to assist every day at matins, at prime, at high mass, and at vespers; and during the whole period of his residence he was not allowed to sleep outside the city in which the cathedral stood.

After the Reformation twelve new chapters were instituted, which were endowed with the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, especially the Benedictines. The name of *newly-founded chapters* was given them, and their statutes were, it is stated, revised by Henry VIII. himself. It is, at any rate, the case that in these statutes the bishop's authority forms a very meagre element, and they are altogether much more in the power of the secular government. The new chapters differ also from those of ancient foundation as regards the mode of endowment. Under the old system each prebendary had his own estate, which was specially assigned to him individually for his maintenance; whilst in the new ones, the estates, tithes, and other property all belonged to the chapter

in common, which distributed the revenues in equal shares among the canons. There was, however, an exception in favour of the dean, who received two shares, *quia nominor leo.*

At the present day these distinctions have been effaced by an act of parliament. The separate estates, which formed according to the old system the prebends of the chapter, have been confiscated and placed under the charge of the Ecclesiastical Commission, other property being assigned them to be held in common, and its revenue to be equally divided among the prebendaries. As to the dean, he now receives a fixed payment. These remodellings, it is scarcely necessary to say, have only touched upon the chapters of ancient foundation; the others have retained their original statutes, and remain much as they were moulded by the hand of Henry VIII. The latter, twelve in number, have, however, endeavoured, for some years past, to improve the income derived from their estates, by getting rid of the old system of letting for life, or rather for three lives, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

Each chapter is composed of four canons compelled to reside and the dean. *Deaneries* are in the hands of the Queen, who confers them on whom she will. *Canonries* are at the disposal of the Queen and Chancellor, or, in certain cases, of the Bishop. There are dioceses in which the canons are nominated by the chapter itself. This is a trace which has been

left of the ancient autonomy of the church, which has been gradually reduced and almost absorbed in the authority of the civil power. Besides the canons residentiary, there are in chapters of the new foundation, a certain number of honorary canons, who are nominated by the bishop. These latter take no share in the revenues and have no duties to fulfil. The duties of the working canons are, to reside at least three months in every year in the cathedral city, and during that time to take the direction of the religious services, assisting in them every day, also to watch over the state of the edifice, all under the authority of the dean. The latter must reside eight months of the year in the episcopal city. His functions are, to preside over the chapter, to take cognisance of all business that concerns it, and to occasionally officiate in the cathedral. The intention which predominates in the keeping up of these metropolitan establishments is the maintenance at a certain height of a model of public worship so far as it is sanctioned by the Anglican rubric. The cathedral should serve as a pattern to the other churches of the diocese. Its architecture, its ornaments, its services, all should tend to direct the tastes and harmony of the ceremonies in the more humble edifices, which in every way seek to conform to her example, as younger sisters to that of an elder, whom they look upon as the pride and star of the family.

There is another practical advantage in the cathe-

dral system. It gives an opportunity to Government of rewarding the services of certain distinguished members of the Anglican church; and we must not lose sight of the fact, that the capitular clergy form, as it were, the staff-officers of the church. Their duties confer certain honours, and these are not, like most honours, without profit attached to them. The annual income of the Dean of Durham is 3000*l.*; that of the Deans of Westminster, Canterbury, and St. Paul's is 2000*l.* each; the incomes of the other deans of the old foundations reach 1000*l.* a-year; and that of the deans of the new foundation fluctuates between 1000*l.* and 1500*l.* The canons receive from 350*l* to 1000*l.* per annum. It is very true that many of these ecclesiastical dignities are especially accessible to patronage and high birth; but they are also in many cases awarded to talent. Many of the deans and canons nominated during these last few years have been men of universally-recognised merit, not as divines only, but also as authors and scholars. Canterbury, as one might expect, presents to us a most complete model of this capitular organisation.

On the north of the cathedral stands the chapter-house, a fine building opening into the cloisters, and erected by Prior Chillenden about the year 1400. The dean* presides over the chapter, that is, the

* The word Dean comes from the Latin *decanus*, no doubt because deans were at first appointed to superintend *ten* canons or prebendaries.

assemblage of canons. The latter are divided into six *major* canons and five *minor* canons. In former times, if tradition is to be believed, they all lived together in common; even now their houses are grouped closely round the cathedral, in the precincts. These houses are mostly old and venerable-looking stone buildings arranged according to modern taste, and surrounded with gardens overshadowed by the cathedral towers, and shaded by great trees, the tops of which are pervaded by the oracular voices of the rooks. Everything in these calm retreats reminds one of their former monastic character, except that one may here and there catch sight of the fluttering of a female dress, and may hear at intervals the fresh and artless laugh of childhood. The Reformation has introduced a novel element into these calm and verdant seclusions—I mean the priest's family and domestic life.*

There are besides, attached to the person of the archbishop, two or more archdeacons, whom he himself nominates to execute certain functions of surveillance in his diocese, a vicar-general, chaplains, and, in fact, a complete clerical staff. The cathedral is regarded as the mother church of the other churches in the diocese, and as the centre of the parochial

* Formerly the chapters had the right of electing the bishop. This privilege has been taken away from them, and bishops are in the present day nominated by the Crown, in nearly the same way as deans.

system and of religious action. We must also not lose sight of the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends over a whole province, that is, over twenty dioceses. One of his principal attributes is that of convoking, with the Queen's permission, the bishops and representatives (or *proctors*) of these various dioceses to a general assembly, over which he presides, and which has been called, not incorrectly, the Clerical Parliament.

CHAPTER V.

Convocation; its origin, and what it has become in course of time —Way of convoking and assembling this ecclesiastical assembly—Proctors—Act of Subscription—The Church Congress—Brother Ignatius—High Church and Low Church—Electoral reform in the Clerical Parliament—The Tractarians —Latitudinarians—The *Broad* Church—Dr. Arnold—Arguments in favour of a free interpretation of the Bible—Essays and Reviews—Dr. Maurice and Byron's *Giaour*—Eternity of punishment rejected as an impious doctrine—Influence of Clergy in the State—What are their political opinions?—The Liberation Society—Ragged churches—Why the working classes will not go to the Established churches.

THE right of occasionally placing itself in a position to exercise legislative powers is one of the most ancient privileges of the Church of England. For instance, that which is called the *Convocation* of the province of Canterbury does not owe its origin to any concession on the part of the Crown. Convocation began in very distant times, when Parliament itself first pretended to be a deliberative body; and it has followed *pari passu* the destinies of the great political assemblies of England. At the epoch of the Reformation, Henry VIII. deprived this synod of all the power that might at all tend to render it dangerous to the State. The clergy were enjoined

not to assemble without the consent of the Sovereign, and in no way to place themselves in opposition to the prerogatives of the Crown and the laws and customs of the kingdom. Convocation originally had the power to impose taxes on the clergy; but this right was taken away in 1665. The Church consented to place itself under the authority of the common law, that is, to submit, just as the laity do, to the measures passed by Parliament. In process of time the synod was reduced to a position of merely nominal power, *magni nominis umbra*. This assembly was still convoked at the opening of each new Parliament; it certainly enjoyed, in principle, the right of legislating on religious matters, but, in fact, it was completely in the hands of the civil authorities, who could always control, and indeed dissolve it, at their own pleasure. Scarcely had the representatives of the clerical body met and commenced their deliberations when an order would abruptly come from the Crown to them to suspend their labours. This state of things went on up to 1860, when several influences were set to work to endeavour to resuscitate this ancient privilege of the Church. These great efforts were not altogether unfruitful; and Convocation now fills a place in the constitutional system of the kingdom.

In order to assemble the clergy in convocation a letter is necessary from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop sends this

mandate to the dean, who then addresses a citation to all the bishops of the province. The ecclesiastics attending this assembly form two distinct classes; those who take their seats by right of dignity; that is, because they fill an elevated rank in the Church; and those who are raised to the assembly by right of election; the latter are called *proctors*, that is, delegates.

As soon as the members of Convocation are assembled in one of the courts at Westminster, they separate into two houses, the Upper House and the Lower House. This division at once recals to mind the arrangements of the civil parliament, on the model of which the clerical parliament is framed. The Upper House, composed of bishops, is presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan; the Lower House nominates a Prolocutor or Speaker, who is deputed to manage the debates. The two houses communicate with each other by means of deputations.

This clerical assembly has principally in view the planning out of schemes of laws, which will be afterwards submitted by the Government to the approval of the House of Commons and the Peers. The discussion on the subjects in the "orders for the day" opens first in the Lower House; the members there speak freely, either for or against, and when the resolutions have been put to the vote, they are carried by the Prolocutor, followed by his assessors,

to the Upper House. There the bishops decide, and give a final judgment on them.

It is then the part of the Government either to give the weight of their influence to the measures passed by Convocation, or merely to let them drop into oblivion. It happens, in fact, that very far from all the schemes of law elaborated by the synod get even so far as the doors of Parliament; most of them, on the contrary, rest peaceably buried in the limbo of the ecclesiastical world. Some years ago the learned assembly still deliberated in empty show only; their efforts, as it were, to galvanise a corpse were the subject of laughter, even in England. The *Times*, which is not too tender with the clergy, although it nobly defends the religion of the State, compared Convocation to a maypole, "round which a company of old boys, fantastically tricked out, performed periodical dances, as long as the authority of the State allowed them." The concurrence of the Queen, it was said, was necessary in order to give life to this official meeting of the clergy, and the Queen, for reasons which it is not difficult to understand, declined to take a part. And yet how much things have changed, even since those days!

The adoption by the civil authority of a tolerably recent measure* has shown that, in 1865, the

* This measure renders obligatory the *subscription* by which the young clergyman promises to profess the doctrines of the Church of England.

long slumbering vigour of Convocation was not quite extinct. Encouraged by the success it then met with, the institution tried to strengthen itself by enlarging the base of its electoral suffrage. Up to that time, eighty-two members sat *ex officio* in the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, whilst only twenty-five were elected by the chapters, and forty-two by the parochial clergy. It was decided, that in future the number of proctors, representing about ten thousand incumbents, should be equal to that of the *ex officio* members and the delegates from the chapters. Some proposed even to extend the same right to curates, and thus to introduce a sort of universal suffrage into the Church; but this measure was rejected as unseasonable. The progress which Convocation has made in England during the last few years has inspired the High-Church clergy with considerable hope, and others with a certain extent of mistrust. It is, at any rate, a grave fact, that the ancient parliament of the Church of England has been trying, under the auspices of a liberal ministry—that of Lord Palmerston—to resuscitate itself, and to regain some portion of its long-lost authority.

These assemblies are not the only ones that bear witness to the movement in religious ideas. In a country where an unlimited right prevails both of meeting and discussion, various liberal associations have laid themselves out to hold certain congresses, which have taken place, sometimes in one place,

sometimes in another. Thus, the scientific congress sat a year or two back at Bath; and the one for social science, not long ago, invaded the manufacturing population of Sheffield. Why should not the clergy take advantage of the same privilege? There has been, in fact, a Church Congress set on foot for some time past, which met in 1862 at Oxford, in 1863 at Manchester, and in 1864 at Bristol. In the year in which I am writing (1865), Norwich has been selected for the place of meeting,—an ancient city built on the summit of a hill, crowned by the cathedral and an old castle. These numerously attended meetings make a sudden alteration in the appearance of a town, for they bring in their train a complete crowd of illustrious visitors, and it is curious to see the eagerness that is shown to receive them suitably. The mayor opens his reception-rooms, the hotels are filled with the curious, and even private houses claim a share in the honour of worthily exercising the rites of hospitality. What a commotion and what a display there is! Never were there seen at once in the old streets of Norwich so many bishops, deans, canons, and other clerical dignitaries; and yet this city is not unaccustomed to religious pomp, for in it stands the monastery of Brother Ignatius, who has been pretty well talked about latterly in England.*

* As head of a new order of Benedictines, Brother Ignatius has endeavoured to renew, under the mantle of Protestantism,

An executive committee is meantime busied in choosing the various subjects which are to be dealt with in the Congress, and in specifying the speakers who are to address the meetings. It avoids bringing into the programme any doctrinal questions; so as to bring together, as on a neutral ground, the two or perhaps three parties into which the clergy are divided. The aim of these meetings is essentially practical; they do not turn their minds to consider what is necessary for the Church to *believe*, but what is necessary for her to *do*. At last the Congress is opened in one of the large rooms of the city. Most of the stars among the clergy, to whatever order of rank they belong, may be found assembled there. On this occasion might have been remarked at Norwick the Archbishop of York;* the Bishop of Oxford;† Dr. Harvey Goodwin, Dean of

what is called in England the mummeries of the Middle Ages, such as processions in the streets, the worship of the divine *Bambino*, the use of incense in churches, &c.

* Dr. William Thompson, Archbishop of York, was educated at Shrewsbury School and at Queen's College, Oxford, was several times nominated select preacher at Oxford, and afterwards preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and obtained great success in the pulpit. In 1861 he was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and subsequently, in 1863, obtained the archiepiscopal see of York, the income of which amounts to 12,000*l.* a year. As an author he is principally known by a logical work entitled *Outlines of Thought*.

† Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, born in 1805. His principal works are *Agathos*, *Eucharistica*, *History of the American Church*, and *The Rocky Island*. As Bishop of Oxford (1845) he is, by right,

Ely, whose talents and energy of character even his adversaries admire; Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury, one of the most learned men, and one of the most eloquent preachers, in the Church of England; Dr. Pusey, who has attached his name to a new form of Protestantism; and many other divines whose presence or concurrence would shed a lustre on any assembly.

The Congress, besides, thinks right to strengthen itself by admitting a certain number of the laity to join in these discussions on the affairs of the Church. Addresses and lectures follow one another for several days, embracing a variety of subjects, the importance of which can scarcely be denied, which are debated by different speakers of opposite opinions. These Church congresses have no actual legislative power; but they serve to instil new ideas into the clerical mind, and sow the seeds of reforms which may one day ripen, when fertilised by the light of public opinion. Following the invariable English custom, these meetings terminate with a grand banquet, to which a very large number of guests are invited by the mayor or some other rich personage in the town.

There is one obstacle which constantly opposes itself to the development of Convocation and even of

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Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. The Queen has besides nominated him Lord High Almoner. He occupies a most eminent position as an orator, both in the House of Lords and also in the pulpit and at public meetings.

ecclesiastical congresses; this obstacle is the doctrinal division in the Church. We must not lose sight of the fact that the English clergy are divided into *High Church* and *Low Church*. This distinction can be traced back, we have every reason to believe, to a very remote antiquity. It existed in germ even at the time when England was still Catholic; but the Reformation first gave it any social or political importance. The High Church is that which, in the period from Henry VIII. to William III., was always allied to the royal authority and the episcopal hierarchy. The Low Church, on the contrary, takes its root from the sects of Puritans. We know how great were the efforts of these first and obscure reformers to propagate the Bible; and in the progress of time, from those barns and lofts, where a few humble votaries assembled for worship at the peril of their lives, came forth triumphantly the ascendancy of their party and the supremacy of Cromwell. The Restoration, in its turn, expelled from the Church its Puritan element, and drove it back into obscurity. This, then, was the state of things when William III. disembarked in England.

It was at this period that the name of *High Church* was first given to the priests who were *Nonjurors*, who refused to acknowledge the right of the Prince of Orange to the throne of Great Britain, under the pretext that James II., although dethroned, was still their legitimate sovereign. This appellation of *High*

Church applied to the high idea which these ecclesiastics formed of the dignity of the Church and of the extent of its prerogatives. Those, on the other hand, who disapproved of the obstinacy of their brethren, being well known for their moderation towards Dissenters, and for the more humble ideas they had formed as to the authority of the Church, were ranked in what was called, by antithesis, the *Low Church*. The sympathies of the Prince of Orange could not for an instant be in doubt between these two religious parties. He opened the flood-gates to Puritanism, and received into the bosom of the Established Church those whom his predecessors had set aside. Whenever he superseded a bishop or any other ecclesiastical dignitary who proved rebellious to his oath of allegiance, he purposely replaced him by one of the Low-Church party; and thus it happened, that an element, at first so feeble in the clerical body, acquired, during the reign of William III., a certain degree of preponderance. Since that time, the two parties have continued to live side by side under the same authority; but how many old grievances have been again ripped up! The question seemed to be, who could call up the most vividly the phantoms of past hostilities: on one side, the execution of Charles I. and the expulsion of the Stuarts; and on the other side, all the reactionary laws under which they suffered during the reign of Charles II. The latter felt that they were emphatically the children

of persecution; and was it likely that they would refrain from hurling at their opponents the epithet *Papist?** Politics also followed up religion pretty closely; thus the High-Church party were almost all Tories, and the Low-Church clergy invariably took the side of the Whigs.

The progress of time has somewhat softened down these divisions; but still they are far from being extinct. The Low Church certainly does not now style the High Church the "Harlot of Babylon;" but for all this, are they any more reconciled in Christian love? Truly, I fear not. They are like two unloving sisters, endeavouring to hide their former rivalries under a certain reserve of language and conduct. Whenever the High Church wishes to hide its light under a bushel, the Low Church purposely holds back. If convocation is the matter in hand, Low Churchmen will ask how a provincial assembly, as that of Canterbury or York, can embrace the whole religious interests of the kingdom, and why a convocation is not summoned of the whole Church; and whether a synod, constituted in this way, does not form a body representing rather the bishops and chapters than the clergy generally. In order to

* Walter Scott, in his *Life of Dryden*, rightly calls attention to the fact, that the High-Church party, towards the end of the reign of Charles II., had the same interests to defend as the Catholics; they were both drawn together by a common hatred of the various Puritan sects, and by a common attachment to the Stuart family.

answer this last objection, the province of Canterbury thought it best to extend their electoral suffrage; an enemy, they considered, is often more dangerous outside than inside a house. They wished, therefore, to afford to the Low-Church party the opportunity of admission to this council, and of expressing their views with full liberty. Will they, however, respond to this appeal? This still remains a question. For one thing, the minority that they would form on the benches of Convocation would be far from a correct indication of the real power of the party.

With regard to the Church Congress, some of the Low-Church clergy were present and took a certain part in the proceedings; but it seemed rather in obedience to a sense of duty, than from any enthusiasm in the matter. It is in vain that they have set aside, at these meetings, all disputed questions on dogmatical subjects, and have substituted practical questions in their place; for the Low-Church party fear an energetic course of action on the part of their opponents quite as much as they dread their doctrine. Thus it is that the English clergy find in themselves, that is in their divisions, a barrier set up, which much limits their means of influence.

In each of these two parties in England some remarkable men are numbered, and each of them has latterly had its period of revival. The revival of the Low-Church party took place at the end of the last and at the beginning of the present cen-

tury: at the head of the movement were found, among others, Cowper the poet, Wilberforce, father of the present Bishop of Oxford, and Macaulay, father of the historian. The revival in the High-Church party became noticeable from 1830 to 1845: the chief agents in it were Dr. Pusey, the fervent preacher Newman, since become a Roman Catholic, and the "poet-priest" Keble. Their doctrines have certainly made way in England during the last few years, but they have not secured the sympathy of the masses generally. The Low-Church party is, if not the most numerous, at least the most popular, and the favours of a liberal government more generally have a leaning towards this religious section.

What, then, are the essential points which form the ground of difference between these two classes of religious opinion? High Churchmen reproach the other party with the narrowness of their views, their anomalous Calvinism, and their comparative inaction in the midst of society. "Instead of quietly sitting down," they urge, "amid the decay of the Church, and weeping over the errors of the times, why do not you exert yourselves, and endeavour to improve the age in which you live?"

Low Churchmen, on the other hand, impute to their opponents, that they yield, according to their tastes, to two very opposite tendencies, one leaning towards Romanism, the other towards Rationalism. The truth is, that High Churchmen admit, as a

scarcely secondary authority, the validity of tradition, as represented by the Fathers and Œcumenical Councils; whilst Low Churchmen recognise the authority of the Holy Scriptures only. The former place high importance on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, on sacraments, rites, rubrics, and ceremonies; the latter care but little for all these things, and give their principal attention to the cultivation of preaching. Cranmer, wishing to conciliate these two parties, composed the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Edward VI., which book, with some slight alterations introduced in the times of Elizabeth and James I., still forms at the present day the bond of union in the Church of England. The two parties, however, both interpret it in their own way.

Where the antagonism of the two lines of doctrine is more visibly evident is in church architecture. The successors of the old Puritans look upon a church more as a place for preaching than as a house of prayer; everything, therefore, must be sacrificed to the pulpit and to the placing of the audience. High Churchmen, on the contrary, seek to give to their edifices a character of grandeur and beauty. According to the general opinion in England, the taste for ornamentation has been carried rather too far in some cases; images, processions, lights, and flowers, are all foreign innovations, which have much scandalised Protestants of the good old sort. Certain doubtful practices — confession re-

established under another form; monastic houses both for men and women, founded under the auspices of the reformed faith,—all these things have excited a cry of alarm against the *Sacerdotalists* and *Tractarians.** Whither are they going? Is it not mere Romanism, which, under another name, is seeking to again entangle Great Britain in her snares? The echo of these complaints made its way at last even to the ears of the House of Commons. The danger was, no doubt, much exaggerated; the chief agents in the movement energetically disavowed the intentions which were attributed to them; but the animosity on both sides has only increased, and public opinion has looked to the Low-Church party to form a rampart against the real or imaginary progress of a foreign style of worship.

Those High Churchmen who, by their published or well-known opinions, defy the suspicion of idolatry, do not always escape the imputation of infidelity, which is the name given here to every shade of rationalism. Under the equally strange epithet of *Latitudinarians* the Low-Church organs follow up with their attacks those divines whose opinions appear to the former to spread beyond the limits of

* The epithet *Sacerdotalist* is naturally applied to an ally of the priest (*sacerdos*), the importance and privileges of whose office the Puseyites are accused of exaggerating. As to the term *Tractarian*, it arose from the *Tracts for the Times;* a kind of collective publication, to which Dr. Pusey, Newman, and Keble were the principal contributors.

orthodoxy. For it must be observed, that this independence of outward signs, and simplicity of public worship, which more or less distinguish Low Churchmen, does not always represent any great extent of *moral* liberty. Their minds very often emancipate themselves from the control of ecclesiastical formularies only to succumb to the very letter of a book, or to some tenet as painful as that of predestination.

Between these two parties a third has been formed, which, under the name of the *Broad Church*, turns its attention especially to the way in which the Scriptures should be looked at. All the various sections of the Anglican clergy profess to believe in the Inspiration of the Bible; but what are we to understand by these words? Some will have it that this book was written as well as dictated by supernatural influence; in this case the Hebrew authors would have been the passive vehicles of words and ideas which were in no measure their own,—the trumpet, as it were, through which the Holy Spirit breathed out its revelation. Others (and this is the ground taken by the Broad Church) regard the Scriptures as the result of divine inspiration humanly recorded. But in admitting the participation of man, do we not also admit the possibility of error? This designation of *Broad Church* was first given by the *Edinburgh Review* to a party among the clergy, the founder of which appears to have been the celebrated Dr. Arnold. The chief men of this school are at the present time Dr. Milman and

Dr. Stanley; the former Dean of St. Paul's, and the latter of Westminster.

Some recent publications have very much extended the limits of this movement. Let us, however, hear what can be said in their own defence by those who adhere in every way to the free interpretation of Scripture. "It is a book which philosophers in every age have admired, on which, not only our Church, but a great portion of the social edifice in England, is based. Take care! for the moment that this base gives way, that moment will the whole framework of religion, and a portion of our civil institutions also, fall in ruin. And how can it fail to give way, undermined as it is from day to day by the progress of science and historical criticism? The worst service that you can render in such a case to the book you set yourselves up to defend, is to place it on the high ground of infallibility. The slightest geological, chronological, or topographical error must destroy all faith in that literal divine inspiration which you try to enforce. We must either maintain that science is mistaken, or we must accuse the sun, which dares to be immovable, and the earth, which dares to revolve, and say to all nature, Thou hast lied! Have more wisdom; act like the Deluge, and abandon to error that which belongs to error; and at least save out of the Bible that type of high morality which is still appropriate to a Christian community."

These attacks, proceeding as they do from the

very bosom of the clergy, have been a heavy blow to the Church of England. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the event was unexpected. In 1861, Dr. Temple,* being appointed by the University to preach before the British Association of Science when they met at Oxford, delivered a sermon which subsequently appeared at the beginning of the celebrated publication called *Essays and Reviews*, under the title of the *Education of the World*. The somewhat menacing air of the preacher, the bold challenge which he threw down to his colleagues, the uneasiness of his audience,—all betokened the coming storm. Twice the thunderbolt fell; for after the *Essays and Reviews* came Bishop Colenso's work on the Books attributed to Moses. It would perhaps be scarcely believed in France, that these acts of hostility, directed as they were against the infallibility of the Bible, made less impression on the Church of England than they did on some of the dissenting sects. These latter believe, for the most part, in the *verbal* inspiration of Scripture; this has ever been one of their characteristic tenets, and the very foundation of their worship, which even across the Channel has acquired the epithet of *bibliolatry*. It was, therefore, in this quarter especially that the most lively and painful impression was made.

The Church of England, however, did not delay

* Head Master of Rugby School.

with her reply.* According to her views, the divinity of these writers is entirely negative; they have told us what they do *not* believe, but they have left us in the dark as to the nature of their positive faith. People are looking to them for a doctrine and a definite result; and as long as they keep silence on this head, and still retain their positions in the Church, so long will their opposition obtain but slender moral authority. Perhaps it would have been better to have held fast to this argument; but proceedings had been already entered upon. After various turns of fortune, the accused authors were finally acquitted by the Privy Council, the tribunal of last resort in England in such cases. Who, therefore, can fail to perceive that the Church has no means of punishing any opinions she may disapprove of, either by her own institutions or by the help of the State? The lay element taking, at this point, a share in the religion of the State, is unwilling to re-inaugurate an era of persecution; and in this view it is upheld by a considerable number of the clergy. Toleration, in the Church of England, is neither the result of enlightenment, nor yet an effort of Christian charity; it is the condition of its existence. Liberty was one of the results achieved by the Reformation, and such achievements impose their

* These answers may be read in a collective work entitled *Aids to Faith*. There has also been publishing, since 1860, under the patronage of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a *Commentary on the Bible*, at which some of the most eminent of the clergy have been working.

obligations. The Protestant martyrs are appealed to, and the memory of the divines burnt in the wood-piles in Smithfield is invoked, when the more or less latitudinary members of the clergy claim the right of thinking for themselves. And who would venture to stifle this voice? Not those, at least, who, in matters of religious faith, prefer differences with liberty to uniformity with bondage.

The eternity of punishment is a dogma which has lately much occupied the attention of some of the bold minds in the Church of England. At their head is the Rev. F. Maurice, who has been the means of conferring many benefits on the working classes.* He does not believe in a Christian hell; but what testimony does he bring forward on which to base his opinion? Curious to say, the authority of a poet whose name is no favourite in devout ears. Reading the *Giaour*, he says, taught him more on this subject than all the threats thundered from the pulpit. Byron there speaks of one of those moments which

> "gather in that drop of time
> A life of pain, an age of crime:
> Though in Time's record nearly nought,
> It was Eternity to Thought."

* Professor of Divinity at King's College in 1846, he was compelled to quit this post in consequence of the hostility excited by his religious opinions. He is now Incumbent of St. Peter's, Marylebone. We are indebted to him for the foundation of the Working Men and Women's Colleges—admirable institutions for the education of the adult working classes.

And it is in this sense that the learned divine explains the mysteries of another life. "The Infinite," as Byron goes on to say,

> "Which in itself can comprehend
> Woe without name, or hope, or end,"

—all this is included in the lightning-flash of thought which conscience renders so terrible. In short, the soul of man is so constituted that it can embrace all suffering in an eternal moment. We are certainly led in this very far from the material torments of a Gehenna of fire. Thanks to the toleration and elasticity of doctrine which, after all, characterises the Church of England, Mr. Maurice has been able to hold his place on the extreme limits of orthodoxy.

A portion of the clergy, however, have lately become startled at this free inquiry after truth. Finding neither in the civil law nor in ecclesiastical discipline any means whatever to touch certain doubts hidden behind official positions, they formed the idea of trying to bind the conscience more closely to the creed of the Established Church; thence have arisen the efforts in the Convocation of Canterbury to make their faith a point of honour with young ministers. Evidently they had a right to act thus: but it is asked if this be the proper remedy for the evil. Restrictive measures may cause hypocrisy; but will they insure belief? Listen, for instance, to the public confession of certain clergymen who have opposed this very dogma of the eternity of punishment: "They have believed

in it," they will tell you, "for some time; but a day came when they threw off, as if in spite of themselves, this hideous dream of their youth, the nightmare of an unpitying God; the world then seemed brightened for them, as if by a new light—by a ray of love which, even in the punishment of the wicked, seemed to point out heavenly traits of goodness." The Church of England is infected, it must be well understood, with the malady of the age, even in its high places (*oriens ex alto*). But we must not conclude from this, that religious feeling is weakened in England. Where, on the contrary, shall we find a clergy more devoted to their duties, and a more believing people? And how does this come to pass? It is thus: those forms of religion which number among them the fewest unbelievers are precisely those which demand the fewest sacrifices of reason and liberty of conscience; this is, doubtless, the true answer to the apparent contradiction which we have just pointed out.

The English clergy being in such close relation to the State, it is important to inquire the nature of the influence they exercise in it.* In order to do this, we must take account of the very origin of the Reformation. Among all the obstacles which oppose

* This must be understood as applying to *indirect* influence only, for clergymen are prohibited from sitting in the House of Commons. Up to the month of February 1865 they could not even practise at the Bar.

themselves to the establishment of political liberty in any nation, the gravest and most difficult to upset is the subjugation of the intellect to certain religious dogmas. In the great moral revolution of the 16th century, in which the English clergy took so distinguished a part, divines laid it down as one of their chief aims to emancipate the feeling of self-independence. All free rights have the property of developing others; and who doubts, at the present day, that the prevailing respect for individual liberty, among our neighbours across sea, was one of the achievements of Protestantism? The very same principle of inquiry which laid bare the foundations of religious belief brought its lights to bear on the examination and discussion of the first principles of civil government. It was soon discovered that the roots of despotism lay hid in a sort of hallowed ignorance, but that they had no foundation on any divine authority. Thus it is that the English constitution has, without difficulty, been able to form a close alliance with the religious order. The latter, in a certain sense, sanctifies the State, without either cramping or contradicting it. It was well said, that "the union of Church and State was never intended to make the Church political, but to make the State religious."

The English clergy, taken as a body, are Conservative; but we must not confine this word to the narrow sense in which it is used in other countries. Protecting the institutions of England involves, with-

out doubt, the perpetuation of certain privileges, but, at the same time, defends political rights and liberties. This common tendency in the Church generally in no way binds the opinions of its individual ministers. Whilst the Northern States of America were carrying on that heroic contest against the South, the very echo of which made the blood run quicker in the veins of old Europe, some English clergymen loudly declared their views against slavery, and offered public prayers for the success of the Federal cause. Among the Liberals in the English clergy, I might instance Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester,* and many others, who readily lend their aid to the reforms required by the present state of society. At the time when the election of Stuart Mill for Westminster was, perhaps, rather threatened by unjust imputations of atheism, it was from the University of Oxford—that great centre of orthodoxy—that numerous eloquent voices were raised to defend the illustrious thinker against the attacks of the *Record*.† One fact only may seem to give the lie to this enlightened liberalism of the clergy; it is, the last election at this very University of Oxford. And yet, if I am rightly informed,

* Author of an excellent pamphlet, entitled *On the Means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People*, which attracted public attention by the boldness of its views and the independence of its talent.

† Organ of the Low Church party, just as the *Guardian* is of the High Church, and the *Nonconformist* of the Dissenters.

Mr. Gladstone's candidature would not have been unsuccessful, if it had depended on the votes of the learned professors and others connected with the University; but he had as his victorious opponents the other members of the body, who, scattered all over England, mostly occupy country livings. These latter are more accessible to prejudice and the local influence of aristocracy, and also more suspicious than the others are of the impulses of the age.

It is, however, true that Tory principles are wont to rely upon the Church as one of the pillars of the State. Some clergymen blame even Mr. Disraeli for having torn aside the veil of the temple with too bold a hand, and having too readily exhibited the use made of religion as an aid to government, for he thus compromises that which he would wish to serve. Among this confusion of duties and powers a party has lately arisen in England which has made itself known under the name of the *Liberation Society*. The leaders of this party—and there are some eminent men among them—wish, on the contrary, to relax the bonds which unite Church and State. It is difficult to foretell what fortune may be reserved in the future for these attempts; but at the present day, the real authority of the Church of England is based more on belief than on law; as long as she keeps on her side the sympathies of enlightened intellect, and respects the liberty of opinion, so long also will she be able to defy every tempest.

For some years past the clergy have been much engrossed in trying to draw the working classes into their churches. Have these efforts, however, been crowned with much success, at least in large towns? Most assuredly not; and they have still to seek out the causes for an absence which they so rightly deplore. Dr. Pusey attributes the absence of the working classes from public worship to the old system which still rules in the internal arrangement of Protestant churches. The seats are let by the year, or occupied, in right of seniority, by parishioners of the upper, or at least the middle classes. In both cases the poor stand but a bad chance. "Is this," cries Dr. Pusey, "what one has a right to expect from a religion which proclaims the equality of all in the presence of a common Father?" The eloquent professor goes still farther, and cites facts. Some years ago a church was provided with pews only, and these pews were always empty; they were done away with, open free seats being substituted for them, under the same clergyman the same church was then filled from one end to the other. This experiment appears decisive; and yet is it quite certain that the arrangement of the seats is the *only* cause which drives away from the churches the most numerous class in England? There is room for doubt on this point. On Sundays, persons in easy circumstances delight to display with a certain emulation all their best attire; how would it look for the poor to come there and

expose their rags? This objection has appeared so serious a one, that the idea was started in 1850 to establish in London *ragged churches*, on the same plan as the *ragged schools* which already existed; but there was something ungracious in the epithet itself, which prevented this attempt from meeting with success.

The truth always remains the same, that, in the very edifices where the voice of the Gospel is so loudly raised against the worship of Mammon, the humble city workman feels himself oppressed under the weight of an entire social system that appears to him to be in direct contradiction of the words of the great Master. All in vain have they softened down the sense of certain texts; in vain, thanks to a miracle of scholastic subtlety, have they succeeded in passing the camel through the needle's eye; but the question is still unsolved, how we can reconcile the excessive distinction of ranks with the spirit of a book which preaches self-denial and humility in all. The Reformation desired to bring the priest nearer to the people, in order to bring men nearer to God; but birth, education, and fortune still create a gulf between the Protestant minister and the most humble portion of his congregation. As to the bishop, he is too great a man, and is too far removed from the people, to exercise any very lively influence over them. And then also, behind this ecclesiastical hierarchy, there is a civil hierarchy as well, forming a double Jacob's ladder, very high and very formidable to him who

is on earth. Poverty acts as a means of isolation, and this isolation seems still increased amid the gilded crowd which frequent many of the churches. We have sufficient reasons here to explain why it is that a large portion of the working classes either entirely refrain from taking any part in public worship, or else, on Sundays, attend the chapels of some of the Dissenting denominations.

CHAPTER VI.

The Dissenting denominations—Their origin and cause—The Independents—Religious persecutions—Heretics judged and condemned by heretics—Chief tenets of the Congregationalists—One of their chapels—The Baptists—Mr. Spurgeon and his Tabernacle—Baptism of adults—The Society of Friends, or Quakers—Simplicity of their worship—Character of Quakers—Quakerism is decreasing, and why?—Methodists—John Wesley—Class meetings—Itinerant preachers—Ministry of women—The New Church—Swedenborg—How his doctrines came to be introduced into England—Unitarians—Their way of looking at Christianity—Open-air preachers—The prophetess interrupted by a donkey—Respect paid to liberty of speech—The Evangelical Alliance—One of the glories of Protestantism.

THE great point of difference between the Established Church and the thirty-six Christian sects existing in England consists in this—that, on one side, the religious revolution took place by means of the government; on the other, through the people. Amid the disturbance of all the ancient tenets, the Anglican Church adhered to the old principle of authority. The Dissenters, on the contrary, persisted in considering the king as a kind of shadow of the Pope, and laid claim to the principle of self-government in matters of faith. The State religion for some time looked upon it as its duty to oppose these tendencies, which were

called anarchical. In 1559 the *Act of Uniformity* visited with severe punishment all those who absented themselves, without reasonable cause, from the places of public worship recognised by law. The objects of persecution of yesterday became in their turn persecutors also; and this is the way of the world.

Towards the end of the 16th century, however, the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Independents in England, began to spring up, their growth being developed by the free interpretation of Scripture, and the right of inquiry. The head of the latter party appears to have been Robert Brown, of an ancient family, and related to Burleigh, the Lord Treasurer. He was an enthusiastic and impetuous being, going about preaching from town to town, principally in the county of Norfolk. After staying three years in Zealand, where he founded an Independent church, he returned to England (1585). He was confined thirty-two times in various prisons on account of his religious opinions; but as the climax to his zeal and his exertions, he ended by submitting to the Established Church, and obtained as his recompense the rectory of Oundle, in Northamptonshire. The defection of their chief did not, however, paralyse his disciples; for in 1593 Sir Walter Raleigh estimated the number of the *Brownists* (the name then given to these sectaries) at 20,000, without counting, he adds, the women and children. They were treated with much harshness, and in the reign of Elizabeth many

of them passed under the hands of the executioner. This persecution dispersed the members of the sect, and drove many of them away into the Low Countries, where they founded various churches, at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Leyden. One of the exiles, however, returned to London about 1616, and established a chapel in the very heart of that city. During the time that the Long Parliament remained in power the sect gained ground, and when Cromwell (who was himself an Independent) seized the supreme authority, he made the great principle of the liberty of religious opinions a well-recognised reality. From Charles II. to William III. the community of Dissenters had, indeed, to suffer much; but at the epoch of the Revolution they appeared again, hardened and invigorated by their scars, as Bossuet remarks. In the present day the Independents form one of the great branches of English Protestantism. Under the more modern name of *Congregationalists*, they yield to no other sect either in number or social importance.

What, however, are their distinguishing ideas? In the first place, they refuse to admit the principle of a national church; with them the word *church* means simply a congregation, and they consider that Christians ought to be free to associate themselves together for religious purposes as they think proper, and in such a way that every individual may be able to judge and approve all that is done by the commu-

nity. Under this system, an individual always remains the dictator of his own belief, and all that he seeks in a union with other men is a tie which is necessary to give force and consistence to their personal feelings. As regards religious orders, the Independents recognise two classes only of officials,—bishops and deacons. But it must be remarked, that by the term *bishops* ministers or pastors are simply meant.* The latter have no need for any special ordination; it suffices that they should be called by some congregation, in order to give them a right to preach and administer the sacraments. The usage, however, generally is, that the newly-chosen minister should be inaugurated by some of his brother pastors in a special service, in the course of which he makes, before his future congregation, a sort of profession of faith. In the choice of a pastor, each church is possessed of a perfect autonomy, and finds itself bound by no conditions either as to the class or mode of education of their future minister; any person who appears to them to be fit is henceforth to assume the functions of their pastor. This principle almost always undergoes some modifications in practice; as it is found to be advantageous that the ministers should be educated men, most of them, at the present day,

* In their idea, the two words, *episcopus* and *presbyter*, so often met with in the history of the primitive Church, specify one and the same person.

receive some preliminary education in one of the numerous theological academies or colleges belonging to the denomination.

The right of preaching in religious meetings forms by no means any exclusive privilege; on the contrary, any one who possesses the gift is encouraged to occasionally exhort the congregation; thus, in fact every man is a priest. The Independents refuse to Government any right of intervention in their religious matters, and make a point of themselves supporting the expenses of worship. A sort of voluntary council, composed of delegates, and known under the name of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, meets twice every year to organise a system of mutual action, without, at the same time, in any way prejudicing the principle of the initiative being taken locally. This frail tie suffices to maintain unity; and in spite of the fluctuating character of the system generally, no important fraction has ever, since their origin, become detached from the main body.

One Sunday evening I went into a chapel situated in the Borough-road, in London. The interior of the edifice was white and naked, but brilliantly lighted with gas; the seats converged in the form of an amphitheatre round the pulpit, in which stood a minister dressed as a civilian, only in black. After the service was over, every one seemed to meditate; and several speakers of both sexes got up, one after the other, just as they felt inspired, to offer up to God

a kind of spontaneous address. The gravity of the audience, the dead silence broken every now and then by these loud apostrophes, the animated fervour of the women who spoke, their faces glowing with energy under their veils, the bright light from above;—all this, in spite of the singularity of the scene, had in it an element that was both solemn and affecting; I myself felt moved. What a strange country is this, at once both practical and mystic, where, even amid the dense atmosphere of material interests, and almost without any external forms of worship, one can feel with an inward thrill that a ray of divine light from an invisible spirit-world is passing into the soul!

One of the most ancient sects, after the Independents, and also one of the most numerous, is that of the *Baptists*, originating, no doubt, from the old *Anabaptists*. Their rise in England goes back as far as 1608, the epoch when their first place of worship was established in London. This denomination considers Baptism as a simple profession of faith on the part of him who receives it; and they maintain that this declaration cannot be made by children of tender age, not yet enjoying the use of their reasoning faculties; nor do they allow that it can be made *for them* by godfathers or godmothers, having no right whatever to pledge for the future the conscience of the new-born child. They therefore admit to this rite adults only. And this is not their only peculiarity. It appears to them, that the mode

in which baptism is administered in other Churches is in no way in harmony with the custom of the primitive Christians. The actual meaning of the Greek word, the authority of Tertullian and Gregory of Nazianzen, the traditions among the Vaudois and the Albigenses—all this, and a great deal more, they cite in their favour. According to them, the outward sign in baptism does not consist in merely pouring water upon the head, but in the total immersion of the whole body in a kind of bath. A certain English minister has lately conferred no small distinction on the Baptist community.

Mr. Spurgeon's *Tabernacle*,* an edifice of Grecian

* Mr. Spurgeon was born at Kelvedon, Essex, in 1834, and first studied in the town of Colchester. Some of the members of his family were Independents, and they endeavoured to induce him to enter one of the colleges belonging to this denomination, in order to study divinity, and thus prepare for the ministry; but his religious ideas leaned rather towards the Baptists. He therefore joined a congregation of this sect at Cambridge, presided over by the Rev. Robert Hall. At the age of seventeen he preached his first sermon in the village of Feversham, near Cambridge, and was soon well known under the name of "*the boy preacher*." Not long after, he was called to fulfil the duties of pastor at a little chapel at Waterbeach. He went there; and this chapel—a mere barn—was soon filled with hearers, whilst a crowd outside were content with merely hearing the sound of his voice. His reputation spread as far as London; and New Park-street chapel in Southwark, where the pulpit had been previously filled by Dr. Rippon, claimed the services of the young prodigy. In 1853 Mr. Spurgeon appeared for the first time before a London public: his success was immense. Two years had hardly elapsed before it became necessary to enlarge the chapel. When the alterations were finished, the building

architecture, with Corinthian columns, is a striking object in the Kennington-road. From the appearance of the exterior, one would think it was a theatre; and to complete the resemblance, a compact crowd forms a *queue* at the doors every Sunday evening, first in front of the iron railing protecting the stone-work, and then under the portico. At last, at half-past six, the doors open; every one rushes in, and at least three quarters of the space is found already filled up by the seat-holders and other privileged persons. This system of privilege in seats, and partial exclusion of the general public, so opposed by many members of the High Church, is kept up with extreme strictness in chapels generally. Dissenting ministers have certainly very little inducement to abolish it, for it forms to some extent their means of livelihood. In a material point of view, which in this case can hardly be said to differ much from the religious aspect, the erection of buildings like this sometimes turns out an excellent pecuniary speculation.

The interior exactly resembles a concert-hall: it contains a pit and two tiers of galleries, one over the other, round which rows of lights run, whilst jets

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was still found too small for the congregation. After having for some time preached, on the Sunday, in some of the largest concert-halls in London, Mr. Spurgeon collected subscriptions to erect another immense place of worship, which he himself styled the *Tabernacle*.

of gas encircle the capitals of the columns supporting the roof, and surmount them like a crown of fire; no religious symbol, however, unless you consider as such the dial of a clock, intended no doubt to remind Christians of the rapid flight of time. At seven o'clock Mr. Spurgeon made his appearance on a balcony, or platform surrounded with a balustrade. He was clothed in black, and wore a white cravat. The most profound silence reigned amid the three or four thousand attentive hearers who filled the vast hall, even now too small for the reputation of the preacher. A short reading out of the Bible, one or two hymns, and a prayer—such were the preliminaries to the sermon. Mr. Spurgeon has much that belongs to the actor both in his face, voice, and gestures; he is by turns grave or comic, falling sometimes from the sublime to what is grotesque and trivial—"sometimes Ezekiel, and sometimes Scaramouch;" still he has undoubtedly founded in England a new school of sacred eloquence. Other preachers try to imitate him, but with very little success. They want the vigorous and pure enunciation, which controls and sways at its will the impetuous passions of the crowd; that pungent energy which gives to religious controversy all the interest of a debating club; and, above all, that art which fascinates the imagination by bestowing on the pulpit all the attractiveness of the drama. Mr. Spurgeon has become the subject of caricature on more

than one occasion, and he has not been spared by the pencil of the English artists.* Like Socrates, he has had the honour to have been put on the stage while yet alive. These arrows of criticism are always directed against talents which may be odd, but yet are real; why, therefore, should he have shown the weakness of taking notice of them?

Mr. Spurgeon is distinguished by his liberal views. On a recent occasion he assisted with his great influence the election to Parliament of Mr. Thomas Hughes, the celebrated author of *Tom Brown's School-days*. There was nothing to astonish in this interference of a dissenting minister in public matters, and nothing contrary to conventional ideas; for it must be remembered that civil institutions in England have been moulded out of the same metal as the forms of religious belief.

One of the most interesting scenes in the Tabernacle is the baptism of adults, which takes place generally on some Thursday evening after the service. About twenty candidates for the rite are grouped together on a platform occupying one of the ends of the hall, under the pulpit. The young girls are dressed in white, and wear caps fitting closely round the head,

* Mr. Spurgeon used to be represented, three or four years ago, under the form of a *gorilla*, in allusion to a celebrated dispute which took place in England about this man-resembling ape, in whom the orator refused, as he said, "to acknowledge one of his ancestors."

and set off with a border of lace. Their long robes hanging down in straight folds, with a sort of pelerine covering their shoulders; their modest and meditative air—everything in their costume and attitude calls to mind the saintly statues which one sees in ancient churches. The men are dressed in a sort of dressing-gown, with a white cravat or collar. In the middle of the platform a reservoir of water stands open, on the edge of which are placed two deacons in every-day dress. Mr. Spurgeon, invested for this occasion with a long clerical robe with flowing sleeves, stands hidden up to his waist in the water in the tank. Now comes the neophyte's turn. One of the young girls first goes down the steps into the water; the minister, holding her by the arm, addresses her as follows: "According to thy profession of faith in Jesus Christ, and by thy own desire, I baptise thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." At the same time he immerses her in the water. The same ceremony is repeated with the other *sisters;* and as each of them in turn remounted the steps of the tank, dripping with water, one of the deacons threw over her shoulders a sort of mantle, and she was led away into an adjacent room by a female appointed to this duty. It was in the month of January 1865, and the water was necessarily very cold; so I rather trembled at the idea of young girls being subjected to such an ordeal; but as far as they were concerned—warmed no doubt by re-

ligious enthusiasm—they appeared to show neither dread nor even hesitation. This ceremony of baptism by immersion has altogether something rather imposing about it; and so great is the respect shown by the English people for all the forms of worship, that even those who attended out of mere curiosity seemed to enter into it with great thoughtfulness. "They come to be amused, and they remain to pray," said Mr. Spurgeon, with perhaps too much confidence.

But who are those serious-looking men, who may be seen Sunday after Sunday, all clad in a peculiar and similar fashion, and gravely bending their steps to their meeting-house? They are those who are vulgarly called *Quakers*, but who themselves give to their sect the appellation of the *Society of Friends*. Their founder was George Fox, born in 1624. He was the son of a poor weaver, and was bound apprentice to a shoemaker; but, carried away by the force of religious ideas, he one day ran away from his master's house, and took to running about the country like a hermit, clad, if not in camel's hair, at least in a leathern doublet. With no other companion, he fasted, and wandered about in desert places; sleeping in the day-time in the hollow trunk of a tree; during the night he traversed the fields, like one possessed with the demon of melancholy. At the age of twenty-two he began publicly to preach his doctrines. He considered that the Reformed Church had even yet preserved too many

human institutions in her forms and ceremonies, and therefore determined to pass by the whole system of established worship, and to go back to divine inspiration as the purest fountain-head. He looked also upon certain forms of social politeness as being contaminated with superstitious respect, and therefore would not take off his hat to any one, great or small: he *thee'd* and *thou'd* all the world, both rich and poor. The whole time from 1648 to his death, which took place in 1691, was spent by him in travelling and religious controversies, except that period in which he was in prison. He several times visited the Continent, and in 1661 set sail for the English colonies in America. Twice he passed some time in the Low Countries, where his doctrines took deep root.

This, then, was the man who determined the first principles of the sect. The Society of Friends do not require from its members any profession of faith; they have scarcely any peculiar tenets, and their system of management is by synods or meetings. The peculiar features that characterise them are a profound belief in the direct influence of the Holy Spirit over the soul of man, and a literal interpretation of many of those Divine commands which other Christians are content to understand generally. As the names we give to the months of the year and the days of the week are derived from pagan sources, the Friends refuse to use them; and they are there-

fore in the habit of saying "*first month*" or "*second month*" instead of January or February; and "*first day*" or "*second day*" instead of Sunday or Monday. If litigious disputes arise among them, Quakers are not permitted to have recourse to the ordinary tribunals, but are compelled to submit their differences to the arbitration of two or three of the *brethren*. If either of the two parties interested refuse to abide by the decision of the arbitrators, they may be excluded "*from society*" by the meeting to which they belong, which assembles every month. Truth being in their eyes one of the first of Christian virtues, and as they also attach a literal authority to the Divine command which says "Swear not at all," they maintain that every man ought to be believed on his simple word, and, as far as they are concerned, passively resist any imposition of an oath. Their resistance in this respect has been the means of bringing on them some odious persecutions; but in the present day their simple affirmation is received as valid in courts of justice and in governmental business. Their sacred horror of war is very well known, and they oppose with the same energy any attempt against liberty of conscience.

Their chapel, or, more properly, their meeting-place, is generally a large hall without any adornment but cleanliness, with whitewashed walls, a floor carefully swept, and wooden benches, on which all sit together without distinction either of rank or fortune.

In the library the archives of the Society figure in several volumes. Their worship is entirely immaterial; they worship God in spirit at least, if not in truth. They have no forms of prayer, no fasts, and no thanksgivings; and as they maintain that all the ancient symbols were abolished by the new law, they admit no Baptism but that of the Spirit, and their Communion is an inward act of the soul without any outward and visible sign. In their meetings both men and women, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, are equally allowed to address the congregation; just as they feel inspired. A gathering of very taciturn people is sometimes styled a "Quakers' meeting;" and it is the fact, that before anyone breaks silence in these conventicles, he must feel himself "moved by the Spirit;" and occasionally the Spirit seems tardy in its inspiration, and then they quietly wait in deep meditation. There are, however, elders who superintend the course of the addresses, but only for the sake of maintaining order. Even marriage itself is celebrated without the intervention of any priest. If one of the "members of Society" intends to take a wife, he informs the men's meeting to which he belongs; his "intended" does the same on her part to the meeting of her fellows. The consent of the parents is then ascertained, and the freedom of the contracting parties; if the woman be a widow and has children, care is taken to insure their future means of existence. All this being done, the engaged

persons present themselves before the Friends' meeting, who give them a certificate of marriage. Burials take place with the same simplicity; there is no funereal pomp and no wearing mourning; they even abstain from indicating the place of burial by any kind of monument or grave-stone.

It is quite contrary to their principles to pay for any religious duties performed; every one, in their view, ought to impart *gratis* to others that which he has himself received *gratis*. "Freely ye have received, freely give." Their charitable funds are very plentiful, and especially devoted to procuring for children the means of education. They have scarcely any poor among them, and a Quaker claiming parish relief is a thing almost unheard of in England. When a merchant belonging to the Society gets into business difficulties, the "Friends" come to his help; and if his embarrassments are the result of misfortune, will prevent his becoming a bankrupt. Just as towards men they are charitable, so towards animals they show themselves humane. One of the old precepts of their doctrine is, "to require from the ox only that length of furrow which he can plough without taking breath." As one who especially practised all the virtues of this sect, we must mention Richard Reynolds, of Bristol, who died a few years back. Having amassed a princely fortune in the iron trade, he devoted himself and his wealth entirely to deeds of benevolence. His dona-

tions could never be identified by any signature; he merely wrote on a blank leaf, "from a friend." A lady came to him one day to solicit his generosity in behalf of a poor orphan, and he liberally bestowed it. "When he is grown up," she said, "I will tell him the name of his benefactor." "You are quite wrong," said he; "do we thank the cloud for the rain which it sends us? Teach him rather to look higher, and to thank Him who sends both the cloud and the rain."

The Quaker ought to be specially studied in his own home. His house is in general pervaded by a quiet air of prosperity. If you ask him the cause of his wealth, he will tell you that the merit is due above everything to the education that he received. From the tenderest age he was constantly taught to rightly appreciate the value of time: To provide for the material welfare of his family is, with him, more than a mere dictate of prudence—it becomes a religious duty. But I should like the character of his home arrangements to be rightly understood; everything is marked by a certain severe elegance; you will see neither pianos, nor any unnecessary furniture, nor brilliant hangings. The great delight among the Quakers, especially in the country, consists in their gardens and the culture of rare plants. They will willingly make use of their carriage and pair of horses; but they will not adopt armorial bearings. The females wear a distinguishing costume—a bon-

net of antique shape, generally of a pearl-gray colour, a gown of dark gray without either flounces or trimmings, and a shawl wrapped round them, fastened very high up. Everything is of an excellent and costly material, which, however, does not much attract the eye. A foreigner, seeing them thus clad, would readily take them for Sisters of Charity. Quakeresses take as much pains to soften down any gay appearance in their toilette as other women do to make a show of wealth. Quakers, in their conversation, avoid speaking of any members of their family who are no more; these absent ones belong to God and silence only. They are temperate in the midst of abundance, and enjoy their riches with moderation; their domestic servants are numerous, and kindly treated: they all attend twice every day, morning and evening, not at prayers, for Quakers never pray with their lips, but at a reading of the Bible. They exercise hospitality with dignity and generosity, and yet at the same time with modesty. This mode of domestic life would not be, I daresay, to the taste of everyone; yet it has its peculiar charm. It is the paradise of rest. How, then, can we doubt whether the Friends are happy? Why, we can see it in their serene demeanour and transparent look. Everything in them, even the very sound of their voice, announces peace of mind and evenness of disposition.

The Society of Friends take very little pains in

making proselytes. Everyone who wishes it cannot be a Quaker. I knew a town in Norfolk where a *soi-disant* convert took it into his head to wear the "broad brim" and to attend the meetings; but he never succeeded in gaining the confidence of the sect. You must be born a Quaker, for you cannot become one; therefore the Society of Friends cannot much increase; indeed, I am told that it is diminishing. The young Quakeresses very willingly relinquish their old and original costume, and put on ribbons, flowers, and even—*proh pudor!*—jupons of crinoline. The young men, on their side, enrol themselves among the Volunteers, and thus dare to carry arms. And now, at banquets, some Friends show the weakness of standing up with the other guests when the Queen's health is proposed.* The older members among them groan over all this; and by an increased dignity in their own demeanour endeavour to save the compromised honour of Quakerism. It is, besides, a matter of remark, that any Friends who detach themselves from the Society seldom or ever join any other religious denomination.

The general name of *Methodists* is the designation in England for another sect embracing numerous supporters among the working classes. It is divided into

* True Quakers remain seated at such a time; not from any spirit of opposition, but in accordance with the usages of their sect. In their idea, we may feel respect for persons in the heart, but must not show it by any outward demonstrations.

several branches, the two principal of which were originally grafted on the tree of the Reformation—one by Wesley, and the other by George Whitfield.

John Wesley was born in 1703. At the period when he first appeared upon the scene, religion among our neighbours was very little more than a matter of custom and fashion; and, as regards matters of belief, this epoch might be compared to that which in our country preceded the French Revolution. Wesley was a fellow of one of the colleges at Oxford; but very early in life, having taken Orders, he proceeded to America to preach the Gospel to the Indians. On his return to England he began to seek out some means to regenerate religion, which was dying out in the souls of the people. After having for some time struggled "as one that beateth the air," he pledged himself to address the multitude. He took to preaching in the fields, or along the road-side, mounted on a cart, a gate, or a hay-cock; and the people assembled from all the surrounding neighbourhood to hear him. His preaching was clear, simple, and convincing; and it moved the multitude like a field of corn shivering in the breeze. The churches were closed to him on account of the peculiarity of his doctrines; so he took for his temple the vaulted arch of heaven; and in these open-air assemblies the voices of fifty thousand people, singing the hymns composed by himself, were wont to mount up like the rush of mighty waters. The master and his

disciples were both persecuted; but the ill-treatment which they suffered only served to stir up the fire of their enthusiasm. I think this seems one of the saddest pages in the religious annals of England. The Established Church, however, like the English aristocracy, has one great source of strength; she can see how to take advice from her opponents. The pastors acknowledged the fact that they had too much neglected their flocks, and it was the voice of John Wesley which awakened them from their long-protracted lethargy; and this was partly his intention, for he wished to act upon the Church, as well as on those sections which had become detached from it.

At the present time the sect of Wesleyan Methodists forms in England one of the most powerful branches of Dissent. There is but little as regards points of doctrine to separate them from the State Church; but they manage very differently in their arrangements for public worship. There are two kinds of preachers—one class being ministers, and the other laymen—who provide for the spiritual wants of the Methodist congregations in each "*round*" or division for religious purposes. The ministers are devoted entirely to the sacred work, and are paid by funds raised for this purpose in the "*classes*" or congregations.* Good care is taken, however, that they

* These *classes* are rightly considered as the base of the Methodist system. They are composed of about twelve persons, and each has its leader—a layman elected at a lay meeting. Each

do not get rich by means of the Gospel. One description of ministers among them have received the name of *itinerant preachers*. They are not attached to any chapel in particular, but, on the contrary, travel about, sowing the word from pulpit to pulpit; it is very rarely that they preach two Sundays running at the same place. It is reckoned that there are nearly twelve hundred itinerant preachers in Great Britain. The lay or local preachers, on the other hand, are not remunerated by the brotherhood. They are generally employed in some profession, sometimes even in manual labour, and have a chapel assigned them for the Sunday, in which they exercise ministerial functions. These unlearned orators have a sort of eloquence of their own; and they endeavour by their energetic and uncultivated oratory to awaken in the hearts of their hearers the dull chords of religious feeling. It is generally the case that the impression which they make on their congregation is considerable; and this is easily perceptible from the deep-murmured groanings which proceed from the agitated heart.

Even females are not excluded from public ministry; and a young girl of seventeen has lately drawn together crowds in certain Methodist chapels. Besides Sunday, which they keep in fear and trembling,

member of the class, except in case of extreme poverty, deposits at least a penny a week in the funds of the society, by way of contribution.

the Wesleyans have some other peculiar religious festivals; such as the *love-feasts*, which take place at certain intervals, and also the *watch-night*, which is held the last night of the old year, both to hail the new year, and also to impress their minds with the idea of the shortness of time. Tea-parties, at which they have been known to bring together as many as two thousand persons, also play a considerable part in the arrangements of this body. The amount that they collect by donations and subscriptions is really marvellous. At the time of the Wesleyan Jubilee, a few years back, they got together a sum of from 300,000*l.* to 400,000*l.* When we consider that a very large portion of this money comes out of the pockets of the poor, we are bound to acknowledge the force of doctrines which can inspire such devotion.

It would be needless to follow out these religious denominations into all their subordinate divisions, and thus to pass in review all the sects which exist in England. We must, however, notice the *New Church* founded on the theological works of Swedenborg. These doctrines were first introduced into England by two clergymen of the Church of England, Thomas Hartley and John Clowes, who translated into English the *Arcana Cœlestia* (Heavenly Secrets). In 1783, eleven years after the death of the celebrated Swedish visionary, there was an advertisement inserted in the newspapers, pointing out

a place of rendezvous for any proselytes to his ideas. Five persons attended, and formed a sort of religious meeting. In 1787 the number of believers amounted to seventeen; and it was about this time that the arrangements of this new worship were settled. We see here how new sects spring up in England. Any man, or any group of men, wishing to establish some new religious system, who can find proselytes enough to pay the expenses of a place, and of the services in it, are quite at liberty to open a chapel.

The *Swedenborgians*, or members of the *New Church*, meet in London, near the British Museum, in a good house, the lower portion of which is used as a bookseller's shop, where they publish energetically all the works both of the master and his disciples. Their conviction is that the Scriptures are to be interpreted in two senses; one a natural, and the other a spiritual sense. The natural sense is that in which it has been understood by other Christian Churches, whilst the spiritual sense was only made known for the first time by the Apostle of Stockholm, to whom the privilege had been given to converse with angels and spirits. The rites of the New Church differ but very little from those which are practised in other Protestant chapels; but they take a great interest in matters concerning the mysteries of a future life. According to the Swedenborgians, man is to pass, after death, into an intermediate state, where he who is inwardly good will receive a fuller

dose of truth, which will prepare him for heaven, and he who is inwardly wicked will finally reject all enlightenment, and will thus go down for ever among the reprobate. They reckon at present but a small number of members in their congregations; but, to make up for this, they are mostly educated and respectable men; but yet, what ecstatic countenances they manifest! I must not fail to announce it, as I fear much doubt exists both in France and England on the point,—that the Last Judgment has *already* taken place, and that the "New Jerusalem" is, *at the present time*, come down upon earth under the form of the *New Church*. This, at all events, is the important news which these oracles of mysticism charged me to make known.

The Unitarians are of more ancient origin, although they are farther removed from the old stock of the national faith, and of late years in England much attention has been drawn towards them. Their doctrines can be traced back as far as Arius, a divine of Alexandria, who lived in the fourth century. They first appeared in England shortly after the Reformation, and Milton himself is said to have been a semi-Arian. Unitarians believe, as their name implies, in a God one and indivisible. Their ideas made but little progress in England up to the commencement of the eighteenth century, when a good many who were formerly Presbyterian ministers embraced doctrines contrary to the dogma of the Trinity. I was

in the habit of attending, for some weeks, the service in a Unitarian chapel near Finsbury-square, in London. There they read the Bible publicly, especially the New Testament, as a book of high moral import, but without believing in the inspiration of the sacred authors. In this course of reading, which is selected beforehand, they avoid certain doctrinal passages, such as those speaking of the fall of man in Adam. Christian theology hangs together in one connected chain; if we deny the Fall, is it not also denying Redemption? And in fact the Unitarians do not believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ. In their view he was the most perfect model on which God ever imprinted his image, but "that he was constituted in all points as other men." They believe that his death was *not* a sacrifice offered in expiation for our sins, but that it was the martyrdom of a just man in the cause of truth. They, therefore, avoid addressing him in their prayers; and all that they ask of God himself is his light to enlighten their souls. In practice they make happiness consist in the due performance of the duties of life; man is justified by his works and conscience alone. They maintain a belief in immortality; and they feel that, through a future broken with light and shade, they can still catch a glimpse of a righteous yet merciful Judge.

Some of the preachers, from whose discourses I endeavoured to comprehend the principal features of

their system, were unquestionably most eloquent; and amongst them I especially remarked a young Cambridge divine, who, on Easter-day, preached a sermon on the progress of science. From all that I have seen of it, Unitarianism seems more a system of philosophy than of religion; it still, however, appears desirous to adhere to Christian forms. The services are celebrated with them very much as they are in other Dissenting chapels; and their hymn-book, made up of extracts from Byron, Coleridge, and Cowper, certainly evinces some traces of poetry in their worship. The congregations are generally not very numerous, and, which especially struck me, entirely composed of people of the higher classes. This doctrine, which has planted itself so deeply in America, has as yet thrown out but feeble roots among the working classes in London.

Chapels are not the only meeting-places for the various religious sects in England. Theatres, swimming-baths, and many other edifices are converted on Sundays into places dedicated to worship. And, in some cases, is there any need at all felt of a temple built by man's hand? Truly not; for some religious meetings are purposely held in the open air. I recollect seeing, one fine day in spring, in the midst of the fields, and sitting under a hawthorn hedge in bloom, a loving couple, who were keeping Sunday in their own way. The young man was reading and explaining the Bible, and the young girl

was listening to him; he was the minister, and she was the congregation. But this kind of *pairing off* to worship was not what I meant.

At the time of the great revival movement which took place in London some years back, Hyde Park was perfectly invaded by prayers, hymns, and sermons. At the present time even, during the summer, we meet with a numerous tribe of open-air preachers in different parts of London. There are some of all ages, from a boy of fifteen to an old man with gray hairs; and they are of all opinions, from orthodox Christians down to Mormons, and sometimes even atheists. Sunday, which is so strictly observed by our neighbours, as far as the closing of shops and theatres is concerned, is perhaps the day of all others in the week on which the National Church has to undergo the roughest usage on the part of her opponents. The great majority, however, of the open-air preachers adhere to the Bible; and it is not so much their doctrines as their mode of communicating them which may appear heterodox. One of their usual habits is to begin their discourse by calling their hearers "miserable sinners," which certainly seems to those who listen a scarcely charitable or even Christian mode of address. One day in one place, one day in another, these Gospel peripatetics always give a preference to those places which are most crowded; and thus their discourses are often interrupted by profane amusements and grotesque scenes.

A female, about thirty years of age, lean, and dark like any gipsy, was preaching one Sunday with enthusiasm at the entrance of Greenwich Park, in the midst of the donkey-races for which Blackheath is so famous. One of these animals, which for the moment was not hired, availed himself of his liberty to approach the little group of listeners, and even to rub his head against the elbow of the woman who was preaching. For some time all went well, and the *preacheress*, carried away by her zeal, did not even notice a circumstance so vulgar; but at one of her most pathetic moments, just as she was crying out, "Yes, I am a vagabond for the faith; yes, young as I was, I left my father's house to go and spread the words of truth in towns and villages," the donkey took to braying in the most scandalous way. In vain did she threaten the creature with her celestial frown, and in vain did she endeavour, both by look and gesture, to exorcise the demon which possessed him. No; the horrible noise kept on as badly as ever, and the congregation dispersed amidst roars of laughter.

I do not think that these street-sermons really exercise any great influence on the English population, and yet a very important matter,—the liberty of discussion,—was more fully developed out of the midst of these discordant utterances. Lately an alderman of London caused the apprehension of a clergyman of the Established Church, who, from lack of employment or for some other motive, had

given himself up to preaching in the streets and public places in London. The two parties appeared before the magistrate, according to custom, and the worthy alderman pointed out with some indignation the Chartist tendencies which he thought he remarked in the preacher's discourse. "I have nothing to do with the opinions which he preaches," gravely answered the magistrate; and as it was proved that the defendant had not impeded movement in the public thoroughfares, his dismissal was immediately pronounced. After all, this freedom of speech is the main foundation of the English Constitution.

The Dissenters or Nonconformists form, as we see, the Protestants of Protestantism. All of them, more or less, oppose any authority in matters of belief. The Church of England, it must be allowed, seems but little alarmed at her Dissenting opponents; and why should she be? Has she not on her side the mass of education and wealth, and also the sanction of the State? There are, however, some in England who bitterly regret this state of things, and who would wish, at any price, to bring back unity in matters of faith. But, I must say, I think they are wrong, and that, on the contrary, these differences form one of the chief safe-guards of religious liberty. There is, too, more than one bond of union between all these various sects which have arisen out of the growth of the Reformation. For one thing, did they not, some years back, found, in con-

cert together, the London University? Have they not, also, concluded a sort of compact, which, under the name of the *Evangelical Alliance*, tends to draw all together in feelings of tolerance and charity? Even a section of the Established Church (the Low-Church party) has thought fit to join this movement. And, in fact, what have they to fear from the mutual action of all the Dissenting bodies? This schism, of which so much is said, consists in forms much more than in doctrines. One great and essential fact is, that the liberty which Protestantism allows to human reason is all-sufficient to prevent any hindrance being offered to the progress of science and the development of industry.

I climbed, one Sunday morning, on to the heights which overhang the town of Swansea, consigned, for that one day, to silence and rest. Two kinds of buildings only evinced any signs of life; the high chimney-shafts, towering over the iron foundries, gave vent to black serpents of smoke, curled round by the wind into spiral coils, chasing one another over the tiled roofs; and from the church steeples I heard the sound of the bells inviting to worship. Labour and Prayer—these were the two elements which seemed to float in the air over this town, spread out as it is on the edge of the resounding sea. Does not this seem to afford us a symbol of English civilisation? Religion and Industry—those two great powers, which, in Catholic countries, have

ever regarded each other with mistrustful jealousy —have here persistently lived side by side in perfect harmony; and there has proceeded from this alliance, on the one side, liberty of thought, on the other, victory over matter.

To these phases of religious activity, which all of them, more or less, seek in Revelation for the foundation of their faith and worship, it may perhaps seem curious to bring in rivalry another current of ideas, which takes its source in nature, science, history, and the fine arts, and in England is represented by a temple of its own, dedicated to the philosophical tendencies of the mind of man.

CHAPTER VII.

Those who go to Church and those who go out of Town—Nature's festivals—The Crystal Palace—Why we call it a temple—How it originated—Has it answered the end for which it was built?—The amusements which frustrate the good intentions of its founders—Services which it might render to the education of the people.

ALMOST before the trees have begun to throw out their white chaplets of blossom and the delicate tracery of their first foliage, do the inhabitants of London commence to rush in crowds into the country. Milton, who passed in London some of the best years of his life, draws a happy picture, in his *Paradise Lost*, of the delight which those imprisoned in populous cities must feel, in going out on a fine summer morning, and breathing the fresh air amid the lovely village scenery and the surrounding farms, mingled with the sweet odours of the corn, the hay, the cows, and dairies. The taste which *Cockneys* show for landscapes and rustic scenes is, then, nothing new; but this taste must necessarily have much developed, inasmuch as London has so much increased, and the environs—and therefore the charms of nature—have become more and more distant from the heart of the metropolis. The railways also have

powerfully assisted in extending the relations of London with the country which lies round it. That which was always an inclination has now, for some years, become a custom, subject, like all other English customs, to be influenced as to its extent by periodical festivals.

Excursions always commence on Good Friday. This day, in England, has nothing of the solemn sadness about it, which it puts on in Catholic countries; it is a day both of rest and pleasure-taking: it might be called a *gay Sunday*, only that this union of words would be entirely condemned by the religious ideas prevalent in England. Immediately after Good Friday follows Easter Monday, also bringing in its train numbers of country excursions, which continue, more or less, all through the week. The excursion fever breaks out again in the summer with Whit Monday. On that day, among a certain class, a man would be hardly thought an Englishman if he were seen in the streets of London, unless he had some very pressing occupation. The "Bean Feast," which takes place some time in the month of June, also has its effect on the ruralising propensities of the Londoner—principally among the working class—and draws away thousands of families out of the town. These popular excursions not only obey, like the tides, the influence of the zodiac, but even the place which is principally resorted to is very much determined by the day and the season at which the

excursion takes place. Thus the feast of spring and of renovated nature, celebrated on Easter Monday, is principally kept on the heights of Blackheath, where, amid games of skill, donkey-races, and gipsies' tents, stands the entrance to Greenwich Park, with its venerable Observatory, a temple dedicated to the study of the stars, which regulate in the heavens the course of the seasons.

On days like this it is curious to visit the railway stations, especially that at London Bridge. It seems as if all the powers of steam would be set at defiance to carry away the shoals of excursionists. The women and children naturally take their share in the festival, and rush with unequal steps to the open carriages. There are plenty of travellers, but very little luggage, except here and there baskets containing provisions. At last the departure-signal is given, and the train glides out like a serpent unwinding its coils of carriages. And where are they all going to? Many of the Londoners profess a kind of devotion for Margate, Ramsgate, and Sheerness. This latter shore is sandy, and rather desolate, and the ocean scarcely shows itself there in all its grandeur; but still it is the sea, and that is a sight which always has its effect upon the British heart. Some time back the Bishops of the Church of England joined in writing a letter to the directors of the various railways, to ask them not to start any more Sunday excursion-trains. This letter was not at all

well received by public opinion, and there is very little chance that their proposition will ever be carried out. The working classes in summer time manifest an invincible preference for the great temple of nature, and they love, as was said, to hear on the sea-shore the majestic voice of the wind as it preaches to the waves.

This fashion of making excursions is based upon a real want and a hygienic fact. Dr. Letheby, a physician who has for many years studied the subject, states, with all the authority derived from statistics, that the mortality in London is double that which affects the country. How, then, can it be wondered at that this great stone cage should sometimes open and let loose whole flights of prisoners, who take wing for the fields and woods, and try to breathe the life-giving air? The great centres of attraction for the excursionists vary, as may be supposed, according to the season of the year, and according to their separate tastes; but there is one village in the environs of London that has the privilege of always attracting a crowd. This place is Sydenham, where stands the Crystal Palace; and it is thither that we wish to conduct our readers for a short time.

A journey to the Crystal Palace satisfies several requirements at once. In the first place, it is an object to have in view in an excursion, and it is also an excellent place for a promenade. The way to it

is by train, through the pleasant villages of New-Cross, Forest Hill, and Lower Sydenham; one catches a glimpse of some of the pleasing landscapes of Surrey, with their green lawns and clumps of trees; one glides by the villas, placed sometimes at the very edge of the line, but which, with a sort of feminine coquetry, just show themselves for a moment, and are then lost again, half hidden with foliage and flowers. The gardens of the Crystal Palace can be seen even before getting out of the train. In these gardens they have endeavoured to unite the Italian and English styles, without at the same time too much interfering with nature, which seems to triumph in the free and proud growth of the lofty trees. The principal object of attraction, however, as may well be guessed, is the Palace itself.

This edifice of iron and glass is very nearly the same as the one which figured in Hyde Park in 1851, which contained the first Great International Exhibition. Having been pulled down in 1852, it was again erected on the heights of Penge, at Sydenham, on a new plan, which somewhat modified, enlarged, and embellished the exterior arrangements. There are stories in the legends of the Middle Ages of houses carried for long distances on the wings of angels; it was reserved for our age of ingenuity, and for a new system of architecture, to realise these wondrous dreams. One of the distinctive characteristics of these constructions, which represent in archi-

tecture the modern English style, is their *movableness;* in case of need they can be either taken away, set up again, or altered. Another advantage, which certainly would be hardly expected of them, is their solidity. The Crystal Palace, in spite of its fragile appearance, has sustained the shock of the elements without any signs of giving way. Some years back, it was assailed by a sort of waterspout—a furious storm which shook all the roof-work; but yet it stood it well. The Palace has all the strength which light and airy things possess; being incorruptible as the air that fills it, it sets time at defiance by the unchangeable nature of its materials—glass and galvanised iron. From a distance, four or five miles off, it glitters in the sun like a mass of diamonds; one would be inclined to view it as the fabric of a dream, something made of air and sunbeams, rather than as a real edifice. Seen close, it shows an immense projecting façade traversed with galleries, with tracery-work of iron supporting arches, and with fan-like surfaces of glass spreading out somewhat in the form of a corona. This façade is flanked with two wings stretching out to an immense length, and with towers of glass, which would appear very lofty, but that they are in complete harmony with the gigantic proportions of the whole. "If the monuments of the past could again come into being, this is the form that they would take," cried an artist, full of enthusiasm at the sight of this fairy architecture, and these

vast crystal walls, showing through them the colour of the sky.

In reality, the beauty of a construction like this consists only in the boldness and grandeur of its outlines. The interior, looked at from the nave, at first sight seems to resemble a great covered garden. In the winter time mists form in it, which rise gently to the glass sky, and then drop again in dew; inside the building, we may in a manner visit different climates. One day when there was a hard frost I passed from a temperature much below the freezing-point into a perfectly warm place, where tropical climes were represented by palms, bamboos, and cocoa-nut trees. In every season this garden has its clumps of green foliage, its creeping plants running from tree to tree, its pieces of water, adorned with the large leaves of the water-lily, its birds,—blackbirds, nightingales, linnets, robins,—which make their nests in the branches, and fly about and sing without any idea of their half-captivity, or perch familiarly on the shoulders of the statues. A crowd seems lost in this colossal promenade. A Frenchman expressed to me his admiration of the Crystal Palace, and only regretted that there was scarcely any one there on the day on which he visited it. There were in fact *only five thousand* admissions that day, according to the papers.

Are we wrong in calling this a temple? In the first place, this is the very name which its founders

themselves gave it, on more than one occasion; and it really very much corresponds with the idea which the ancients formed of a religious edifice. But in what way is it a temple? Is it because it has been occasionally used as a place of public worship? Is it because Mr. Spurgeon has preached in it? Or is it because the Sacred Concerts sometimes given there convey some of the most glorious passages of the Old and New Testaments? No, indeed; the Crystal Palace may truly be looked upon as a temple, but quite in another point of view. The creation of the world, the origin of man, the succession of races, the forces which prevail in the distribution of climates and natural productions, the filiation of dogmas and forms of worship, the changes in the idea of God, the course of man's works through long ages, the succession of ancient and modern civilisations, the variations in religious feeling as illustrated by the fine arts, the conquests of science, ingenuity, and labour,—these are some of the great problems which are brought before us at every step by the objects collected in this sanctuary of historical contemplation. What mind, whether a believer's or an unbeliever's, could be, at the present day, indifferent to these questions; and does not the supremacy of the future belong to that system of knowledge which shall best resolve them?

This establishment, like almost all the great institutions in England, was founded by a company.

The directors of this company put out a prospectus, announcing that they intended to raise a capital of 500,000*l.*, and for this purpose to issue one hundred thousand shares of 5*l.* each. Within fifteen days afterwards the whole of the money was got. The founders resolved to raise a palace *for an idea.* What, then, was this idea? To instruct the masses, whilst at the same time they amused them. In order to carry out this plan the company offered Sir Joseph Paxton, the architect of the glass palace in Hyde Park, the office of director of the winter-garden, the park, and the greenhouses. His business was to place the visitor amid the trees, flowers, and plants of every country, and thus to attract the multitude to the study of natural science, by showing them living examples of the influence of climate on vegetation. Mr. Owen Jones and Mr. Digby Wyatt, both distinguished by their labours in the Exposition of 1851, were nominated as directors of the department of the fine arts. Their business consisted in decorating the new palace, and in collecting together the *chefs-d'œuvre* of every period, of every form of civilisation, and of every school, so as to form a course of instruction which might reach the minds of the people through the influence of their eyes.

For this purpose they were sent to the Continent, where they were generally most favourably received; except, however, at Rome, at Padua, and Vienna: in these cities the narrow-minded jealousy of the Papal

government, and the unenlightened views of Austria, prevented them from copying certain celebrated objects of art. The departments of geology, ethnology, and zoology were intrusted to Professors Forbes and Ansted, Dr. Latham, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Gould, and other persons well known in the scientific world. It was not now wanted to form a mere museum of natural history, but Science was to be made to address herself both to the eye and to the imagination. Thus it was that Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, at the risk of imposing a certain sacrifice to the authenticity of facts, undertook, under the guidance of Professor Owen, to restore the forms of some of the extinct animals of the ancient world, instead of merely exhibiting their fossil remains. The labours being thus divided, and Messrs. Fox and Henderson, the architects, having finished the reconstruction of the new glass building with the materials of the former one, the Crystal Palace at Sydenham was at last opened on the 10th of June 1854.

Since that time can it be said to have attained the end for which it was constructed? Has it been, as the programme of the company wished it to be, a Palace of Education for the people? Certainly there is much to be learnt in this rich collection of curiosities and objects of art, in this history of nature and mankind, as set forth by visible records. And it is just in this point of view that we mention the Palace at Sydenham as an institution elsewhere unparalleled,

the idea of which we should be glad to see extended to and reproduced in other places. What country has a greater right or perhaps even a greater duty than France to put such a plan in execution? With us there has been a great deal of talk about the education of the people, but there has been very little done towards it. The English are more practical, and have succeeded in shaping a course of instruction which appeals to every capacity by the allurements of curiosity. The small payment of a shilling has in no way prevented the working classes from rushing in crowds to Sydenham; and I cannot bring myself to believe that this series of objects, and the impression they must make on the memory, can have glided out of their minds without leaving some traces behind. Any branches of knowledge thus communicated by sight and sense become more accessible to the multitude; we may notice this in the astonishment and naive enthusiasm shown by the lower classes at the strange figures representing extinct forms of civilisation.

The Crystal Palace is the favourite meeting-place with certain societies of the working class; the annual festival of the *Foresters* is always held there. They form a very numerous Friendly Society, spread all over England; and on the day fixed more than sixty thousand visitors throng the gardens and galleries, among whom the Foresters may be distinguished by symbolical insignia, and some of them by

a theatrical costume, which is supposed to bear some resemblance to that once worn by the famous Robin Hood. The principals of the schools established at Sydenham and in the neighbourhood are in the habit of occasionally bringing their pupils to this temple of the arts, ingenuity, and progress. What method of education could possibly be better adapted for youth than that they should learn by their eyes, and thus acquire some general notions of *the beautiful* and *the useful*, in the order in which they have been developed through various ages, by living again, as it were, in long-past epochs, and even among their inhabitants, and by knitting together by visible signs the chain of past eras and traditions?

Public lectures are professed to be delivered in the Palace—at too long intervals, it is true—on the various branches of science and history; for the objects themselves, however striking they may be, do not always sufficiently explain themselves. Thus, in 1855, I attended an interesting course of lectures, in which Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins endeavoured, from the indications afforded by their fossil remains, to reconstitute the phenomena of the ancient epochs of the earth and its inhabitants. Why, nevertheless, must I be constrained to add, that, in spite of some very praiseworthy efforts, and in spite of a collection, the equal of which one might seek for in vain all over Europe,—at least from the point of view in which we regard it,—the educational department in the Crystal

Palace, in the shape of lectures, has remained up to the present time in a state of infancy?

The intention of the founders was, as has been said, to mix up instruction with pleasure, and it is not this intention that I wish to blame. They were persuaded, and rightly so, that the mind of a people is to be improved by elevating the character of their amusements. But, unfortunately, that happened with regard to the Crystal Palace which always will happen in undertakings in which the commercial principle and pecuniary interests predominate. The company looked upon the Crystal Palace as a matter of business, rather than as a school for the masses. The admission money was, in fact, a question of life or death, and, in order to live, it was necessary to attract the crowd. It would, perhaps, be unjust to say that the multitude showed themselves indifferent to the various monuments of art, arranged so as to illustrate the history and progress of civilisation; but still, it is a fact that the gardens, the masses of flowers, the tracery-work of roses, the illuminations *a giorno*, the fireworks, and especially the fountains and water-towers, made by far the greatest impression on the majority of the visitors. In speaking of the Crystal Palace, one might well use the same words as the eccentric Jerome Cardan did in his memoirs about the men around him,—*Multi amici, pauci autem docti.* The Palace may number many admirers, but comparatively few among them come there to learn.

What, then, took place? The directors, bound down and restricted as they were by entirely pecuniary considerations, have given way to the public taste, and have latterly shown themselves much more intent on varying the sights, and introducing amusements quite foreign to the original aim of the institution, than in at all developing the means of scientific instruction. The Crystal Palace is used nowadays for all sorts of purposes: monster concerts are given in it which frighten the little birds and drive them out from their leafy coverts; the statues have to be displaced, the great transept is invaded, and is, on these days, entirely given up to the musicians, and to an army of 4000 choristers, as well as to a multitude of men and women anxious to show off their toilettes. Exhibitions are held there of flowers, canaries, pigeons, and rabbits. Balloons are sent up, which, from their immense bulk, are called "aerial mammoths." *Fancy Fairs* also take place there, every now and then, for the sale of various trifling articles, the produce of which is devoted to works of usefulness and charity.* All these displays still preserve some little relation to art, ingenuity, and science,† though more or less dis-

* The stall-keepers on these occasions are occasionally actresses or fashionable ladies. Two or three years ago, a young lady invented a new plan for giving an extra value to fancy articles which were not worth much by themselves. She merely placed them to her lips, rosy as a camellia bud. This kiss by proxy was worth a guinea.

† It would not certainly be right to number among these some-

tant; but can even this be said of performances on the tight-rope? I do not pretend to deny that a certain celebrated French acrobat may have been a fruitful source of pecuniary profit to the Crystal Palace, thanks to his perilous exhibitions; but still, it may be asked, if the directors have remained strictly faithful to their principle, in following this course. There seems to be a certain reaction forming in the public mind against such sights, where the gratification of curiosity is alone in question. I have heard them condemned by English women with much good sense, but also, I must allow, with a little too much affectation. Could they not have found out a much more simple and efficacious means for showing their disgust at this kind of entertainment, by not taking a part in them? To sum all up, there are certain days when the Palace at Sydenham seems to be deviating not a little from its original aim; and that which ought to be a school of instruction has too much about it of the public pleasure-garden and of the music-hall,—too much of the ever-increasing exhibition of articles for sale; the museum is being swallowed up in the bazaar.

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what frivolous amusements the ascents of Mr. Glashier in Mr. Coxwell's balloon, which take place at the Crystal Palace. These journeys into the clouds have enabled a scientific man of much eminence to ascertain the temperature, density, and humidity of the atmosphere at elevations which had never before been attained.

I think that the directors are wrong. Though I take into account the difficulties under which they have laboured, still, it seems to me that there were all the first principles of success in the more serious element in the Crystal Palace arrangements, if they had taken the trouble to extend and complete them. I think the public taste would have finally given its support to a Palace of Education; but to this end it was necessary that the direction should have had the courage to persevere in the path that they themselves had first opened out. I will mention a circumstance which somewhat confirms my way of looking at it. There was an establishment in London, which though it did not proceed on exactly the same system as the Crystal Palace, resembled it in many respects; this was the *Panopticon*. It was built in Leicester-square, in a style which the English call the Moorish. There are, in fact, some imitations of minarets and horse-shoe-shaped arches, also slight columns which remind one—distantly it is true — of a Palace of the Sylphs. Mr. Clarke founded this institution, with the idea of offering to the inhabitants of London a complete round of instructive recreations. It was his intention to work upon the imagination, so as to win it over the more easily to some feeling for art and to the study of science. Unfortunately the means of attraction which were made use of were not found powerful enough for the purpose, and one false step after another led it into a path in which I should be sorry to see the

Crystal Palace following, and the Panopticon has, at the present time, fallen into the capacity of a concert-room, or rather of a music-hall. It is now the *Alhambra*, which before this last deplorable transformation emphatically styled itself the "*Palace of the Arabian Nights.*" It is instructive to compare with this rather degenerate establishment the Royal Polytechnic Institution, which also aspired to render science amusing, and not having made any unworthy concessions to the frivolous tastes of the public, has hitherto preserved its reputation intact, and has, indeed, achieved a certain measure of success.

In spite of some omissions which are to be regretted, and certain defects which were, perhaps, inseparable from the first carrying out of the plans, the Crystal Palace still presents to us a grand *ensemble* of facts and ideas. I should like in my study of it to draw out the principal features of a course of education which is nowhere else represented under exactly the same form, and to point out any useful improvements in it which it might be as well to introduce; in short, to interpret the conception which guided the arrangement of the Palace at Sydenham, by stating both what it now is, and what I think it should be. Some of my reflections, perhaps, if only they are correct, may have an influence over the future plans of other such institutions, which will, no doubt, be hereafter established.

CHAPTER VIII.

Geology the preface of history—The Island of Monsters—Races of men and their climates—Pythagoras' dream realised in the Crystal Palace—India badly represented—Ancient Egypt and its principal historical characteristics—A temple the production of imagination—Symbolical architecture—Where is the mind of a people to be sought for?—Causes of the decay of primitive civilisations — The Assyrian Court—The Priest-Kings—Sensations on passing from the monuments of primitive Eastern communities to ancient Greece—Arrival in the modern world—A Roman dwelling-house—The Alhambra—The dogma of Fatalism connects the Moors with the other quiescent communities.

THE Crystal Palace embraces two great classes of facts:—the history of the earth before man, and the history of the earth after man's appearance on it.

The first of these two histories is presented to us in some of its features at the end of the gardens. The ground is there so arranged as to produce steep and flat shores, rising grounds, ponds, and islets. Rocks have been conveyed there which were taken out of the different geological formations of Great Britain. It has been the intention of Professor Ansted and Sir Joseph Paxton to illustrate by examples the strata of the terrestrial *crust*, just in the successive order in which they lie over one another. First we have the old red sandstone, the carboniferous lime-

stone, and the coal-bearing beds; next, with the new red sandstone, a new order of phenomena begins. The scientific men and artists connected with the Palace have not contented themselves with bringing before our eyes the stratification and position of the various rocks, but have also endeavoured to resuscitate some of the former animal inhabitants, remains of which have been found buried in the more recent strata. Resuscitation, as a human work, is of course the tracing out the forms of extinct beings; and what is there that can be more buried in oblivion and passed away than these creatures, once real enough, and existing on the surface of our planet? Nevertheless we see them here, restored by the contrivances of science, perhaps not exactly as they proceeded from the hands of nature, but, at all events, something like it.

On the little island composed of the new red sandstone, we see squatting down the *labyrinthodon* and the *dicynodon*, like monster frogs, almost equalling in bulk the size of an ox. In the island of the *lias* formation the dynasty of the great reptiles crawl about; the *ichthyosaurus* with his great round eye, which must have glowed like a lantern in the dark depths of the sea; the *plesiosaurus*, especially remarkable for the great length of its slender and flexible neck, at the extremity of which the flat head darts here and there its serpent-like and ferocious bites, and is also so like the iguana found on the banks

of the Ganges. In the formation that follows, the oolite, we find the small *pterodactyles*, or winged reptiles, and the *megalosaurus*, a colossal form with a lizard's head, voracious as a crocodile, and armed with a perfect forest of teeth, supported in front on short legs resembling two pillars; this creature is twenty-nine feet long from the muzzle to the end of the tail, and twenty-two feet six inches round its body. In the same island, but among the cretaceous beds, the massive *iguanodon* and *hylæosaurus* lie at the edge of the water, lizards with their backs bristling with spines, and supported on four legs bigger than those of the largest elephant. There also swims the *mosasaurus*, showing only its immense head above the surface of the lake; and farther back sit, as it were perched upon a rock, the great *pterodactyles*, the fabulous dragons of the old world; chimeras with folded wings and claw-armed feet, appearing as if to guard the secrets of ancient nature.

We must now leave the island of the secondary formations, as we are about entering on another age of creation. This new era is shown to us in another island, that of the tertiary formation, in which quite a different system of animals is grouped. We see here, as if in a dream, standing up and looking like life, all the ancient mammals, the simple fossil remains of which so much puzzled the naturalists half a century back; here is the *palæotherium* with his trunk, the tapir of the old world, the common *ano-*

plotherus, the slender *anoplotherus*, and farther away, the *megatherium*, like a gigantic sloth, about to tear down a tree in order to devour the leaves. At last we come to the proud-looking Irish elks, with their antlered foreheads, the last representatives of an extinct order of beings, but which gradually bring us on to the present forms of life, and thus enable us to connect on the numerous links of a past creation to the great chain of recent animal life.

All this constitutes, I must confess, a scheme of geology which is a little romantic, and, perhaps, theatrical; but must it not be so, if you wish to impress the imagination of the masses? At all events, it was a happy idea to place, as it were, side by side the two great histories—that of the earth as delineated in the gardens, and that of the human race represented by a very different class of objects in the interior of the Palace; one is to some extent the preface to the other. Must we not go back to the long past vicissitudes of our globe if we wish to trace out the origin of the actual level of the ocean, the arrangement of mountains and valleys, the configuration of our coasts, and, in fact, all those features of physical geography which have exercised so powerful an influence over civilisation generally? Who, then, could fail to appreciate the link of union between these phenomena of the ancient world and the department of the Palace which is devoted to Natural History and Ethnology?

A different method from that ordinarily followed in museums has here regulated the arrangement and classification of the various forms of life. The intention here has been to group plants and animals in a geographical order, so as to give a general idea both of the distribution of organised existence over the surface of the earth, and also of their respective countries and the influence exercised by climate. Although everything in the general aspect of this phase of nature, compared with that of the ancient epochs, presents a character of newness, there is one circumstance—the presence of man—which gives the impress of a special peculiarity. This latter being may perhaps have been contained *in germ* in some of the former progressive steps of the animal kingdom; but how has he been developed from them? This is the great mystery of science; and the professors at the Crystal Palace have received no mission to explain it; they are satisfied with demonstrating the facts, and illustrating them in a picturesque shape.

Clumps of shrubs stretch on the right and left in the nave, occupied here and there with groups of natives belonging to the old or new world. Although the human species, wherever it is found, offers some features of identity, still we find it divided into races differing in colour and physical characteristics; each of which races seems attached to some one great division of the terrestrial globe. Thus, for instance, the Negro lives and is specially developed in the

countries of Central Africa, where the plants and animals present a considerable analogy with the *Flora* and the *Fauna* of the ancient geological epochs. The lowest stage of degradation in the black race is shown in a group of savages of North Australia; their lean and elongated limbs, at first sight, remind one of the proportions of the ape. They are, however, very little inferior to the family of Bushmen who figure a little way off; an unfortunate race in South Africa, who decrease day by day, persecuted by the other native races and by harsh European colonists. Having thus traversed the *black world*, we get to the Zulu Caffres, with their brown skins, high foreheads, and more fully-developed intelligence. Proceeding onwards, we next find the Danakils, leading their camels to drink: these Abyssinians form the link between the Negro and the Arab. The continent of America next presents us with her aborigines from Mexico, her Caribs, and her Botocudos. The islands of the Oceanic Archipelago bring to our notice a family of Papuans, who, with their frizzled hair resembling a mass of tow, partake of the character both of the Negro and Malay. Finally, in Asia, in a group of Hindoos belonging to different castes engaged in tiger-hunting, do we find the germ of our white race.

They have not been satisfied here with placing ethnology in active operation, as it were, and with representing the games, the occupations, the favourite exercises, and the domestic life of the various

human families, but they have also sought to bring together those animals which best present to our eyes the features of the different climates, and with which the customs of savage life are so closely, and in so many respects, bound up. The intention was certainly excellent, but the carrying out leaves much to be desired. The greater part of the human physiognomies have been, I must confess, moulded and copied to the very life; the skins of the various animals have been tolerably well prepared; and yet the effect of the *ensemble* is meagre, and the details themselves seem sometimes puerile and even ridiculous.* A great English naturalist, struck with the inadequacy of these plaster models, asked one day why they did not introduce into the Crystal Palace actual savages of real flesh and blood, and make them exhibit to the public representations of their hunting and war. This idea, though, is open to several objections, and would be attended doubtless with many difficulties; but England would be better able to put it in execution than any other nation, on account of the extent of her relations with every country on earth.

* This remark applies especially to the cave in which it has been endeavoured to represent, by means of painted canvas, the eternal ice of the Polar regions; also the animals of those desolate regions, and a Greenland fisherman in his canoe. The interest which attaches to these races of Northern savages increases daily, however, since some skulls have been found in England which seem to belong to the same type.

The portion of the Palace which we have been just considering has presented to our notice some great revolutions on the surface of the globe, forming a series of developments following one another in order in the gradations of life; in short, the progress of the organisation of matter. Are we not thus better prepared for comprehending the laws of history? The primitive races have advanced from barbarism to civilisation by a similar series of developments; social life, like nature, has had its successive *formations*, and the different eras of mankind, like the primeval ages of the earth, have left behind them *strata* in which lie hid the curious relics of the past. Each step in the series of civilisation has its type, just as in the world of nature; and it has been the endeavour here to lay hold of and resuscitate these types, and to present them to our contemplation through the monuments which characterise them, retracing, step by step, the march of progress, as we find it imprinted on the architecture and in the arts of extinct nations.

In history, as in science, everything that lives traces its origin to that which has ceased to be. It is a glorious dream, which some may have had, to have been an individual of different epochs and of departed civilisations; to have watched the cradle of new-born communities; to have taken a part in the mysteries of ancient Egypt; to have been dazzled with the glitter of the age of Pericles; and finally to have seen antiquity itself fade away, to give place

to more modern systems. Well, it is just such a dream as this that they have here endeavoured in some degree to embody in a vast assemblage of monuments and statues. The visitor may be said to live again amid all the ages of mankind, through the power which he has of traversing in a few hours the various eras and the renovated forms of successive communities. Thence proceeds a new mode of education, which consists in guiding the mind by what might be called the *peripatetic* system of universal history.

On the horizon or in the twilight of antiquity, the dark and gigantic apparition of India opens to our view. And yet India, especially ancient India, is but poorly represented in the Crystal Palace. An omission like this can be the less easily explained from the fact that the English have so much opportunity for studying this country, so mysterious and so fruitful in wonders. The artists might have found in the Indian Museum, and in an excellent collection of photographs of the ancient temples, all the elements necessary for reconstructing a style of architecture now extinct. In the Indian Museum they might have copied, and then have grouped in some connected system, the strange figures of the Hindoo gods, the so-called incarnations and monstrous avatars,—those abortions of religious feeling run wild in nature.

Though ancient India has been neglected, for-

tunately this has not been at all the case with regard to Egypt. This venerable civilisation appears to us as if coming out of its shroud and made young again by the ingenious processes of restoration which have animated and embellished the ascertained realities without in any way distorting them.* The types of architecture which have been collected in the Egyptian Court have not been in every case taken from any particular ruin; they are rather illustrations of various styles, grouped together so as to give some idea of the development of art in this mysterious nation. It is not to be expected that, in the various changes, we shall find the character of progress so strongly impressed as in the history of edifices belonging to more modern nations. Their religion was opposed to it; their petrifying dogmas had once for all fixed their symbols of worship; the law of Egyptian art, like that of the entire community, was simple immobility. Mr. Owen Jones has even formed the idea that it is only in the epoch of its decadency that we know much of the Egyptian style; the era of its grandeur and its perfection has

* This labour has been singularly facilitated by some recent discoveries. At the present time, not only the tools are known which were made use of by the Egyptian artists, but even the process of designing which they applied in their sculpture. In certain sepulchral crypts, which were building during the whole lifetime of a king, and were left unfinished at his death, there have been actually found chambers, where the walls, hollowed out of the rock, had been prepared to receive paintings and sculpture.

been buried with the more ancient Pharaohs; and it is only here and there that we discover some remains, the more beautiful just in proportion as they can be traced back to a more remote period of antiquity. Still less can we trace out the infancy of this art, for it is lost in the night of time.

An avenue of lions, modelled from two specimens brought from Egypt by Lord Prudhoe (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) leads us to the outer precinct of a temple—the walls decorated with deep bas-reliefs and columns. But what is this temple? Let us at once state that it bears no resemblance to any one particular monument which has been discovered on Egyptian soil; it is, however, acknowledged by the *savants* to be an exact representation of the style which flourished at the epoch of the Ptolemies. As it was the principal aim of the professors at the Crystal Palace to appeal to the senses, and to give a visible shape to history, they would have entirely failed in their attempt if they had been satisfied with merely reproducing solitary and mutilated fragments such as one sees in museums of art. In place of this, it was essential that they should give, as it were, a soul and body to the Egyptian symbolism; that they should restore the ruins; select and group together, in a space which was much too confined, just those features which would convey to the mind of the spectator the fullest idea of a civilisation so remote from our own. The walls are covered with fantastical and

coloured figures, the principal subject of the pictures being a king who is making offerings to and receiving presents from the gods. The capitals of the columns are formed of palm and lotus leaves; others again show the *papyrus* in its various stages of development, from the bud to the full-blown flower. On the frieze which is above the columns runs a hieroglyphical inscription, which announces that "in the seventh year of the reign of Victoria, the sovereign of the waves, this Palace was raised and adorned with a thousand statues, as a book for the use of the men and women of all nations."

At the sight of this ornamental architecture—just the same, or nearly so, as might have come from the chisel of one of the ancient artists with flat noses and prominent cheek-bones—we are almost tempted to believe that we are really in Egypt in the days of the Ptolemies. I entered the court or vestibule of the temple; not, however, without commending myself to two winged globes, the symbolical divinities who protect the threshold of the door. There it was that the multitude were wont to assemble. On the wall on my right was displayed a grand fresco of the temple of Rameses Mai Amun, at Medinet Habou, near Thebes. The warriors are represented as counting up the hands of his slain enemies before the king, the chief of the nineteenth dynasty, who is standing up in his chariot, surrounded by his servants and fan-bearers; there were three thousand of these

hands, as I learned from the hieroglyphics engraved on the head of the scribes; and this number inspired me, as may be well imagined, with the most profound admiration for this great and magnificent sovereign. On my right was the representation of a battle, or rather of a siege, for the Egyptians seemed just about capturing a fortress. Turning round, I found myself facing eight gigantic upright figures, enveloped in scanty white tunics, with their hands crossed upon their breasts. These statues, with cheeks of a red hue, opened wide their great black eyes, which seemed to look fixedly into eternity.

I passed under this sullen-looking vision of stern gravity and immovable force, and then, turning to the left, I found myself in the midst of a very compact colonnade, of a most original and curious appearance. Each of the columns represented eight stalks and eight buds of papyrus bound together, and standing up in the form of a sheaf. I came at last to the tomb which was discovered at Beni-Assan, hollowed out in a chain of rocks which form a barrier to the east of the Nile, and divide the sandy desert from the fertile valley of the river. This monument belongs to a very ancient epoch, more than sixteen hundred years before our era; it is easy to gather this from the bare and severe shape of the columns, which form one of the earliest orders of Egyptian architecture. Why was it necessary that arrangements, dictated no doubt by motives not difficult to divine, should have

so much altered the original character of this mausoleum, by removing the obscurity and solemn gloom? Without waiting to decide this question, I continued my course into a chamber ornamented with all kinds of bas-reliefs, statues, and paintings; one of which represents Rameses II. in the course of mowing off the heads of his enemies, assisted by the merciful god Ammon-Ra. I went through various colonnades of different styles and of different epochs, from that of the temple of Philœ to that of the temple of Karnac. Some of them had on the top the statue of the Egyptian goddess of love, represented with the ears of a heifer, and called by the Egyptians "the great cow which brought forth the sun."

I at last discovered in a nook the famous temple of Abou-Simbel.* But the charm was soon broken here; for an English inscription told us that what we had before our eyes was only a miniature of the façade of the temple itself, hollowed out, as it is, in the side of an old stone quarry. To regain the train of illusion, it was necessary to go on into another chamber, or, as it is called, into another court. There, amid an elevated temperature, favourable to

* The ruins of this immense edifice were discovered in Nubia about half a century back, in the sand heaped up by the driving winds of the desert. Mr. Hay, an Englishman, subsequently undertook considerable labours on the spot, to lay bare the bases of the statues and of the ancient walls of the temple. Some idea may be formed of the colossal character of these ruins by examining the photographs which are in the Crystal Palace.

the growth of tropical plants, and at the end of an avenue guarded by a double row of sphinxes, stand two astounding statues, each being sixty-five feet in height.* These are the colossal representations of Rameses the Great, seated in an attitude of passive majesty which powerfully indicates a class of being superior and insensible to the world which we inhabit. Some other much smaller statues are intended for his mother, his wife, and his daughter. The exaggerated stature of the former statues express particularly a grandeur of social condition, a nation absorbed in the State, and a State personified by a man.

Few can fail in understanding here the intention of the professors of the Crystal Palace in thus exhuming and restoring these fossils of history. The results of such sights as these may not be altogether science itself, but they induce at least the impressions which lead to it. An endeavour has been made, under the veil of symbols, to reconstitute here one of the types of primitive civilisation. The Egyptians having especially signalised their sojourn on earth by enormous and mysterious edifices, which have alike set at defiance the lapse of time and injuries from man and the desert, it became needful to turn to their architecture in the first place, in order to re-

* In the temple of Abou-Simbel, which served as the model for this imitation, there are four statues of the same size, intended to multiply the royal person.

produce some of the grandeur of that which is sometimes called the *Babelic* age of mankind. Their art, like their whole social order, was the product of their religion; and the religion of Egypt, like most of the ancient systems, was based upon a vast materialistic conception of the outer world. They were the ruling laws, or rather forces, of the universe, which they embodied in these gods with the faces of an ibis, a tiger, a jackal, or a crocodile. The immolations performed in the interior of the temple, under every variety of form, were exemplified in the State by every kind of sacrifice; hence these icy and oppressive figures, in whom the people worshipped their own annihilation. In this absolute inflexible order of things, the immobility of institutions was shadowed forth in the immobility of statues. How, then, did this model of ancient communities come to be broken up? Some naturalists, wearied of attributing to the doctrine of cataclysms all those great changes which have been wrought on the earth during the obscure night of the earlier geological epochs, have sought to explain them by other and more simple causes,—by the variations of the atmosphere and the maturing of new forms of life upon the globe. And perhaps the day will come when historians also will allow less influence to wars and revolutions than to the gradual and inevitable laws of progress in working out the decadency of nations. If, by a miracle, some of the old Pharaohs, buried under the ruins of their ancient

monuments, could return to light, they would understand that there was no longer any place for them in this modern world of ours, and would calmly close their eyes, and majestically repose again in their quiet tombs. These great beings, shadowed forth in the colossal proportions of sculpture, could be at their ease in the past only; borne down by a new state of things, and by historical changes which they were forbidden to fall in with, they have been long extinct, having left in the sands of Egypt the evidences and the monstrous relics of their vanished power.

We must, however, remain some little while longer in the cycle of ancient Oriental civilisations. On our right stretches the Assyrian Court, where they have sought, by means of the same processes, to reconstruct, not any one particular temple, but the general peculiarities of a long-lost architecture. And to this end, the discoveries made some years ago at Khorsabad, in the ancient kingdom of Assyria, have been made to contribute. They have embodied the labours of those *savants* and antiquaries who, to some extent, brought to light the palace of Sargon, successor of Shalmanezer, also the palace of his son Sennacherib, at Kouyunjik, as well as those of Sardanapalus and Esar-haddon at Nimroud. They also consulted the explorations and excavations which have recently laid bare the ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace at Babylon, and those of Darius and Xerxes at Susa. It was not only the grand proportions, and,

as it were, the skeleton of this almost fabulous architecture, which reappeared from behind the veil of sand removed by the hands of the explorers, but even the most minute details and delicate ornamentation; even the remains of painting which has been permitted still to give life and colour to some of the strange creations of Assyrian art. It was certainly quite a novel and curious attempt, this plan of introducing us into the monuments of the Mesopotamian kingdoms during the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Sennacherib and Xerxes.

The work of restoration, or rather representation, was intrusted to Mr. James Ferguson and Mr. Layard,* who, without at all sacrificing the appearance of truth, have succeeded in uniting, in an imaginary palace, all the scattered features of an epoch and of a civilisation which seemed for ever lost. The entrance of this palace appears guarded by those gigantic figures of winged bulls, with human heads and black frizzled beards, which, according to Mr. Layard, represent the three great attributes of divinity, intelligence, force, and ubiquity. If you are not frightened away by these monsters and the Assyrian Hercules strangling the lions, you will now enter a large chamber, in the centre of which stand

* The latter scholar and statesman has published a book on the antiquities of Nineveh,—*Nineveh and its Remains*,—which has met with great success.

four columns exactly copied from some that were found at Susa and Persepolis. The walls are covered with sculpture and cuneiform (or rather *arrow-head*) inscriptions, which have been recently deciphered, and also with paintings and carvings of a religious character. We must not forget that these palaces were temples as well, for the king combined the functions of high priest and military chief of the nation. The ceiling which is over this chamber presents the general appearance of ceilings as used in this ancient part of Asia; but it has here principally served as a means for displaying the different modes of colouring in Assyrian art. At the end of the court we may notice an arch of rather an elegant form, and which, by its design, seems to have derived its origin from a more modern taste than that of the inhabitants of Assyria; it is, however, a faithful copy of a model which was discovered at Khorsabad.

From this hall we pass on into two chambers, planned so as to give some idea of the arrangement of the ancient palace, and decorated with mouldings taken from the bas-reliefs discovered at Nimroud. In conformity with the customs of the ancient sovereigns whose dominions we are visiting, we also find pictures representing the chase, war, sacrifices, and all the amusements which occupied the leisure of an Asiatic monarch. In the collective aspect of its features, Assyrian art is connected, although with well-defined shades of distinction, with the other groups

of ancient civilisations, such as those of India and Egypt. There is the same oppressive and formidable symbolism, the same tendency to the exaggeration of shapes, almost the same hierarchy of gods, half men and half beasts, all bearing evidence that the principle of *self* had not yet been able to detach itself from the mute and confused forces which bound it down to nature. Although wrapped up in different myths, their religions in every case tended to form a community in which the people accepted with blind resignation the necessity of the causes which oppressed them, and made a worship of their weakness and their fears.

The visitor, in passing from Egypt and Assyria into Greece, feels that sort of relief which he must have just before experienced in leaving the strange reptiles of the tertiary formation—those nightmares of the infant earth—and finding himself among animals approaching closer to the present forms of life. It is like leaving behind the aberrations of fancy and advancing towards reality. To the gloomy epoch of monsters and dragons, to the sullen immobility of sphinxes and gods, to a system of art gigantic in its character and weighed down by a silent and mystic religion, there all at once succeeds the very resplendence of beauty. This change, however, took place by no means so suddenly in the course of history; embosomed in the Egyptian architecture we find the germs and the prototypes which afterwards became

so fruitful, when developed into beauty by Grecian art;* it is even probable that this transition would appear infinitely less abrupt, if we possessed the primitive monuments which characterised the infancy of Hellenic genius. The truth is, that Greece, especially in the beginning, was still bound by certain religious and poetic ties to the ancient East; but she at length succeeded in throwing them off by means of her more unshackled social organisation, her softer manners, and her more man-like gods. One of these causes of progress would have been more satisfactorily pointed out, if the changes of climate could have been better illustrated than they have been at the Crystal Palace.

Mr. Owen Jones, to whom was deputed the task of decorating the Greek Court, has not followed altogether the same plans that were adopted in regard to Egypt and Assyria. The monuments of Greek art were more certain and better known; he has therefore been content with exhibiting them in groups, surrounding them with all the adjuncts which could assist the illusion. We enter first under a façade of the Doric order into the interior of an *agora* or Greek *forum*, which was used as a market, and also as a place of meeting for public solemnities. What is most novel in this somewhat theatrical decoration,

* Thus it is that the straight and unornamented column of the earliest period of Egypt has served as the primitive model for the column of the Doric order.

intended as it is to place on the stage a company of statues, is the colour with which the principal lines of the architecture are painted. These blue, red, or yellow surfaces, all blazoned with gold, give, we may be permitted to believe, a pretty good idea of the way in which the Greeks understood the ornamentation of buildings. In the interior of this court are grouped and arranged in a certain order plaster statues, moulded from models in the possession of the principal European museums. Leaving the *agora*, we cross a small side-court, the *stoa*, in which the visitor finds himself standing, as it were, between the Greek and the Egyptian styles of art,—the former represented by a colonnade of the Doric order, the latter by a sloping wall. He can thus compare the two styles—the harmonious forms with the passive and colossal figures. A little farther on, and we enter the covered *atrium*, which was generally attached to the *agora*. Large pillars support a panelled ceiling, which has been imitated from one in the temple of Apollo at Bassa in Arcadia. From this spot stretches a long gallery of celebrated sculptures, among which we can distinguish the frieze of of the Parthenon, which Mr. Owen Jones has endeavoured to re-delineate, partly from fancy, and partly from the guidance afforded by the remains of Grecian antiquity. At last we come to the Parthenon itself, which has been reconstructed on the spot, thanks to the advice and the studies of Mr. Penrose,

who has been familiarised by his long sojourn in Athens and by his deep studies of the subject with all the secrets of Grecian architecture. This system of education by means of objects of Greek art is addressed to a public, the majority of whom have never read one line of a Greek poet. Is it not, however, a fact, that up to a certain point a kind of history of Hellenic art, religion, and society may be gathered from the *ensemble* of the spectacle presented to us?

The figures relating to their religion, reduced to more moderate proportions than those of the Egyptian myths—those dark hallucinations of stone which beset the human brain—sufficiently indicate the decline of theocracy. In Greece, in spite of their mysteries and *initiations*, a great part of their religion was laid open; heaven seemed to smile, and the gods appeared august and serene in the light of Olympus; they were individuals and no longer mere forces of nature. The veil which still shrouds the head of some of their divinities has no longer the character of impenetrable mystery; it is the *peplos*, —a human emblem, a type of the wondrous web of life which spreads over the course of existence on the surface of our earth. Man up to this time, passive in his relations to the universe, liberates himself at last from the oppressive inaction of the elements; acting by means of thought on the outer world, he modifies it to some extent, and finally

gathers out of nature the idea of the beautiful. In place of the symbolical inflexibility of shapes consecrated by dogmas, and the religious conceptions of the earliest age, which petrified in one invariable mould all the attributes of divinity, succeeded gradually a degree of pliability and freedom of fancy in the arts. The sculptor's art shook off the imposing quiescence of architecture; those beings of stone, offspring of the human brain, which scarcely ventured, like children, to try their first step, soon assumed, in the highest degree, both movement and expression: they live, they move, they share—while they elevate—our passions, our joys, and our sorrows.

Pascal, when seeking for the distinctive feature of man's superiority, thought that he had discovered it in the idea, "that man is the only being in creation that is sensible that it suffers." One might say, somewhat similarly, that Greek sculpture—as, for instance, in the group of Niobe—first fully represented the feeling of grief. Seek for no such evidence of weakness from the colossal figures of Egypt, insensible as the granite from which they are carved. The Greek nation emancipated themselves just in the same measure as they gave more latitude to the nature of their gods; for civil and political institutions are generally to a great extent shaped by religious ideas. In place of these cavern-like temples and these palaces of the East, embodying the fright-

ened slavishness of a nation absorbed by a man or by a caste, we find in Greece public places where all classes of society met together and consulted.

We must not be surprised at sudden changes: we were just now Greeks; now we are Romans. Many a one would like to be able to shake off his personality amid all these successive transformations, and to become, as it were, the chameleon of history. Now we are walking in the outside part of the Coliseum, in front of a wall pierced with semicircular arches, and ornamented with columns of the Doric order; this is the entrance of the Roman Court, inside which is a large apartment, with walls painted in imitation of porphyry, malachite, and those rare marbles with which the Romans loved to decorate their palaces. Just the same as in the Greek Court, the visitor passes through a series of vestibules, where he can study the models of architecture and sculpture. At the first glance, and consulting only artistic feeling, one would be tempted to believe that Rome had made a step backward in the path of civilisation. In comparison with Greece, does she not present certain features of barbarism, which can be traced even through all the refinement of the age of Augustus, and amid the corruptions of the Cæsars? We get rid of this impression, however, when we think over some of her laws and political institutions, and especially when we recall the fact, that she first founded the organisation of the

city, spreading even as far as Gaul the germs of that liberty which was one day to result in the enfranchisement of the population of the country.

I think, perhaps, that the greatness of Rome, under this aspect, is not sufficiently brought into notice at the Crystal Palace. Was the Coliseum, with its gloomy motto, "*Panem et Circense*," exactly the kind of edifice that should have been chosen to give an idea of a powerful nation? The Latin race were primitively of a decided character, and had gods of their own; but subsequently, shackled by their conquests, they more or less assumed the philosophy, the arts, and the gods of the vanquished nations. This movement can be traced out in the statues following one another in order of time.

Not satisfied with having thus depicted the history of Rome, from the bright days of the Republic down to the sad array of the Emperors, they have sought as well to give us some information as to the manners and domestic life of the Romans. For this purpose they have turned their attention to the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the cities which were buried alive under lava and cinders. As happens so often in the course of nature, the matter which destroyed these towns also tended to preserve them. Although they fully intended to construct the model of a Roman house from the aid afforded them by the remains which were exhumed at Pompeii, they have not had any one particular villa in view. The idea

has been, to give a model of a complete habitation, with its courts, vestibules, and arrangement of rooms. Travellers who have been at Naples assure us that the imitation is accurately correct.* The entrance is through a narrow passage, the *prothyrum;* on each side a little room is reserved for the porter and the slaves; on the pavement you see, inlaid in mosaic, the representation of a fierce dog, with the warning words, *Cave canem.*† And now the visitor is quite at liberty to fancy himself in his own house, if he can at all realise the illusion which is intended to be suggested. As a Roman of the time of Augustus, he is now in his *atrium*, in the centre of which an opening made in the roof,—the *compluvium*,—catches and turns the rain-water into a marble basin,—the *impluvium.* All around the *atrium*, he can enter the sleeping chamber (*cubicula*), curiously decorated with mural paintings. All the rest of the house is equally open to him,—the wings (*alæ*), a kind of nook devoted to the transaction of business with strangers; the *tablinum*, where it is considered that the family archives were kept, also the paintings and objects of art; the peristyle; the *xystus*, or flower-garden; the *triclinium*, or winter dining-room; the summer

* The paintings have been executed under the superintendence of M. Giuseppe Abbate, one of the keepers of the Museum at Naples.

† On the doorstep of another side-door there is inlaid a rather more hospitable motto—*Salve.*

triclinium; the *vestiarium;* the bath-room; the *cecus,* or banqueting-room; the *thalamus,* or bed-chamber of the master of the house. In going out, he again reaches the *atrium* by certain narrow passages (*fauces*).

The transition from Rome to Granada and its civilisation certainly seems rather sudden; and yet, if one takes account more of the natural course of ideas than of the chronological order of facts, the religion of the Saracens seems allied to antiquity by its dogma of fatalism. Every one would, of course, guess that the specimen chosen to give an idea of Moorish architecture would be taken from the Alhambra. The architecture itself is rather a far straggling branch from the main trunk of Byzantine art, and in this respect may perhaps offer some traces of a family likeness with the Roman style of architecture. We now find ourselves transported into the midst of the thirteenth century, into the famous *Court of Lions,* in the centre of which stands a fountain supported on the animals which gave it its name. Round the basin of this fountain some Arabic verses thus celebrate the merit of the artist: "Tremble not, thou who lookest at these couching lions! Life is wanting to enable them to show their fury." God knows, however, that the poor beasts have nothing terrifying about them. This court is enclosed by a covered gallery, the columns and arches of which spring up with a delicate and fanciful grace; on the

columns is inscribed this sentence: "God is the only conqueror." The eye is delighted with the fairy lightness of the arabesques, formed of flowers and irregular designs, which entwine themselves so as to form a verse of the Koran, and with the bright and harmonious colours brightening up, with the help of gold, this lace-work of stone, as we pass on into the *Hall of Justice*, ornamented with three curious paintings. We have some reason to wonder at these paintings, representing stags being devoured by lions, as the Mohammedan religion forbids the art of representing living objects in nature. But does it not also prohibit even treading on a morsel of paper, from a fear lest the name of God may be written on it? And yet this name may be found many times inscribed on the pavement in this hall. These circumstances have led to the idea, that considerable discrepancies existed between the Eastern Mohammedans and those who were established in the Western countries: no doubt the faith of the latter became somewhat relaxed by their intercourse with Christians.

Through the *Hall of Justice* we gain admission to the Hall of the Abencerrages. Here especially the imagination becomes imbued with all the dreams of Eastern life; the dim twilight which makes its way through the ceiling obscured and coloured with all the tints of the kaleidoscope, the ornamental carvings which hang on the walls like stalactites of stucco, the

rich mosaics,—everything in the hall breathes, as it were, the mysticism of pleasure. Amid all these enervating influences it is not difficult to realise to oneself the life of the Sultans, with their romantic amours, too often alternated with crimes making a mark in history, and also the manners and habits of the Arabian and Castilian chivalry. The Court of the Alhambra is certainly one of those portions of the Crystal Palace which leave but little to be desired; on these oft-times blood-stained walls, arranged artistically, as they are, for the provocation of sensual pleasure, one sees plainly written the whole legend of Moorish supremacy.

Geologists are in the habit of giving the name of *transition epochs* to those periods in which the former forces of nature find themselves opposed by new forces tending to advance life on the globe, and in which the surface of our planet was thus agitated by the oscillations of resistance and of progress. Something very like this happens in the history of the human race. We have arrived at the decadency of the old communities; having by degrees attained to the crowning type which characterises them: there they seem to stop short as if exhausted, and impotently contend against the unknown future which must outlive them. The breath of the new spirit passed over the nations and shook them; ruins were heaped upon ruins; unknown races appeared, and spread like a deluge

over the Roman empire. Amid all these convulsions, it seemed as if the world must go to ruin: on the contrary, it was about to be restored to a fresher life.

CHAPTER IX.

Infancy of modern civilisations—Primitive forms of Christian art—The Byzantine period—The Middle Ages—Memorials of Catholic England—The Renaissance—Its characteristics in England—The Elizabethan style—Connection between the Renaissance and the Reformation—Services rendered by Henry VIII. to England in separating it from Rome—Why has Cromwell no statue in the Crystal Palace?—History of Manufacture poorly shown at the Crystal Palace—Alliance of the Useful and Fine Arts—The love of utility distinguishes modern communities—Conclusions to be drawn from the *ensemble* of this Temple of History—New system of education—To communicate ideas by means of external forms—The Crystal Palace a school of democracy.

THE day-star of Christianity had now risen over the whole civilised world. All new religions endeavour to appropriate the fine arts as the surest means for fascinating the imagination. Christianity, which at first had despised and repudiated images as being a sign of idolatry, as soon as she became the conqueror did not delay in adapting herself to the symbols of architecture and sculpture. It is not true that Pagan art vanished, as if by miracle, before the Cross; every one knows nowadays that the Christians took a vigorous part in the destruction of the ancient gods and their temples; the Barbarians completed this work of demolition, out of which, amid the ruins, were to shoot forth the young stems of a renovated

architecture. At the very moment, in fact, when the relics of paganism were being consigned to the earth, edifices were being constructed on a new system which were to take their place.

This latter course of events they have endeavoured to commemorate in the Crystal Palace in the *Byzantine Court.* Over the porch or façade of this court Mr. Digby Wyatt has collected, as a sort of introduction, the general features of this so eminently curious epoch. He has turned his attention to the remains that yet exist, and has succeeded in reviving, in an ideal composition, the splendid mosaics, paintings, and allegories of the Byzantine period. This entrance leads us into a sort of museum, where they have been satisfied with reproducing various objects scattered all over Europe, which are able to give us some idea of the art of the period. There are fragments of cloisters, cathedral porches, recumbent statues, baptismal fonts, sarcophagi, Irish crosses wreathed with strange ornaments, and the fountain of Heisterbach on the banks of the Rhine, in the Seven Mountains. It seems as if the barbarous nations recommenced the infancy of mankind in their practice of the arts. The spectator, still under the impression of the gloomy monuments of ancient Egypt, cannot fail to discover certain analogous features between the sacred style of the primitive Eastern communities and that which flourished in the west from the 8th to the 13th century. Only here

the interest is for us redoubled; for it is our own very ancestors who are now in question, and the stone swaddling-clothes, so to speak, which wrapped round the new-born religious thought of modern nations; it is our own history we read in the mysterious shade of the crypt, in the monastic stiffness of the statues, in the emblems of an art petrified by dogmas, and in these tombs and shrines, in which man, having lived a death-like life, lays down his head at last so bravely on his cold marble pillow.

The Middle Ages are represented in three courts, the *German Gothic Court*, the *English Gothic Court*, and the *French Gothic Court*. The most interesting, at least to a foreigner, is the court in which have been collected from all parts of England those monuments which characterise the triumph of Christian spiritualism over the turbulent instincts of the Saxon race. The idea has been to provide for the English themselves, at a cheap rate, the materials for an archæological journey, as it were, over their own country. As to those who have actually seen, in their various localities, these different specimens of Gothic art, they feel the same sort of pleasure in seeing them all classified in a gallery as it is well known that the botanist feels when he retraces in his *hortus siccus* all his former travels, and renews the impressions half-effaced by time.

Entering from the nave into the *English Mediæval Court*, the visitor suddenly finds himself in a cloister

of the fourteenth century, in which the forms of the arches and columns have been taken from Guisborough Abbey in Yorkshire. From this pleasant and peaceable cloister, where the footstep resounds on a pavement of tiles of brilliant and harmoniously mingled colours, can be perceived detached bits of some of the most celebrated cathedrals in Great Britain, but especially the magnificent pointed doorway of Rochester Cathedral. The most ignorant in archæology could not fail to observe the changes which have taken place in architecture since the Byzantine period; everywhere round him the straight line has taken the place of the curved one, and he is in the midst of that which is called the Perpendicular or Pointed style. The lines of architecture which point straight upwards, the meagre austerity of the forms, the ascetic attitude of the statues, the sombre melancholy of the furrowed countenances absorbed in a wild love of God,—all seems to announce the victory of mind over the body.* The ideal in art, as in human life, plunges into and is lost in the mysteries of eternity; and yet what a ray of almost superna-

* This emaciation of the face and limbs, this stiff straining of the face as if drawn up towards something above, in a word, all the features of a highly-wrought mysticism, are not so strongly imprinted on the statues of the Middle Ages in England as in Germany. The vigorous Anglo-Saxon race has always resisted any excess of Catholic mortification,—a terrible word; for, as Bossuet himself says, it means death-causing—*mortem facere*.

tural grandeur is shed by their simple and unreserved faith, on the countenances of these Christians sleeping so well and so easily in their tombs!

In this collection of objects of mediæval art certain details have not been neglected which might give some idea of the usages in England during Catholic times. Thus one pauses willingly before the statue of the "boy-bishop" taken from Salisbury Cathedral. It was then the custom for a bishop to be chosen every year among the choristers; he enjoyed through the year all the privileges of a prince of the Church, and if he happened to die while holding his office, a monument was erected to him: hence arises this recumbent statue, which recalls rather a touching idea. There is scarcely an educated Englishman, however good a Protestant he may be, who does not sometimes love to carry back his imagination to these days of so-called *popish idolatry*; for if these legends in stone do somewhat clash with the good sense of the Reformation, at all events they foster in him a sentiment of poetry. At first, perhaps, the Church of England did well in hating and despising images; but after she was firmly grafted on a trunk well pruned by the axe of the first iconoclasts, she did not fail to save and preserve all that was left of the vestiges of Gothic art. When I was at the Cathedral at Bristol, some of the venerable canons seemed much pleased to show me several of the old monuments of superstition, which they were about to have repaired, quite with

feelings of attachment to them. One destroys only what one fears, and religious reform in England has no longer anything to fear from the past.

Scientific men have given the name of *eocene* to the beginning of the last geological period, that is, to the dawn of modern creation. This same dawn breaks also, with different attributes certainly, but with a not less vivid light, when we pass from the long enthralment of the Middle Ages to the splendours of the Renaissance. What a rich growth of form is here! what a joyous claim is put forward by nature, beforetime so absolutely humiliated and annihilated by the dogmas of religion!

This festival of the resurrection of art and antiquity is commemorated in the Crystal Palace in three courts: the *Renaissance Court*, the *Elizabethan Court*, and the *Italian Court*. The plan adopted differs but little from the one which has been before followed; the idea has been to work into an ingenious system of decoration the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Jean Goujon, of Lorenzo Ghiberti, of Germain Pilon, of Michael Angelo, and of other well-known artists. The choice of monuments has been a happy one, and the visitor wanders with delight through a glorious epoch, all the richest beauties of which have been gathered together around him, and the tree of art has been, as it were, shaken, to throw at his feet all its choicest fruits. We will pause at the Elizabethan Court only, which naturally presents the most national

character, and a style of architecture which is less known in France. This phase of art was of but short duration in England; having burst out in all its glory towards the latter half of the sixteenth century, this peculiar style, to which Queen Elizabeth gave her name, passed away about the beginning of the seventeenth, driven out by the progress of the Italian school in England. There are, however, many who regret it. Certainly, from its massive character, it was not wanting in a certain palatial grandeur, and it had, above all, the merit of originality. With its stonework curiously carved with the chisel, its architectural masses, which in their *ensemble* still retain some features of the style which was in all its glory in the Middle Ages, although differing in its details and ornamentation, roughly imitated from antiquity, it suited very well, not only to the days in which it flourished, but also to the country itself, and the materials which the latter furnished for the art of building. The castles and manor-houses of this period, built of red brick faced with boldly-carved stonework, with their deeply-set, strongly-fashioned windows, and lofty clusters of ornamented chimneys, still produce, when seen through the grand old trees, an imposing and picturesque effect. The architectural details intended to illustrate the style of the time of Elizabeth have been taken from Holland House, one of the most curious buildings in London. Those who planned

the arrangements at the Crystal Palace have not been satisfied with setting forth the history of art by visible records only, but have also endeavoured, as we know, to call back to life past ages, and thus immerse, as it were, the spectator in the recollections and influences which they awaken. What age can be better adapted than Queen Elizabeth's to appeal to the feelings of the Englishman? Do they not find in this period the most romantic and heart-stirring pages of their annals and their brightest names in literature? To assist the delusions of memory, they have assembled together various historical figures and works of art; such as the tomb of the Countess of Norfolk and her sons, the original of which is in Salisbury Cathedral; the monument of Sir John Cheney; that of Mary Stuart; and finally, the bust of Shakespeare, copied from his tomb in the church at Stratford-on-Avon.

The period of the Renaissance is also dear for other reasons to the heart of the English; and they connect, and rightly so, the rise of the religious reformation with the revolt of the fine arts against the Church, with the discovery of printing, and with the hearty study of Greek and Latin literature. It was in the exploration of antiquity that erudition, guided, it is true, in some paths, by the lamp of religious faith, has, as is said, recovered the Bible. People may dispute, and they are free to do so, as to the origin of Protestantism in England, and as to the motives,

more or less honourable, which gave rise to it; but there is one fact which no one can gainsay. By separating from Rome, Henry VIII. cut the cable which connected Great Britain with the Continent; and it is especially from the date of this restless and troublous time that the English nation first began to develop its character, its institutions, and its moral and physical independence of the bonds of foreign orthodoxy. It became then the question, after the Renaissance Court, to sum up the unity of the British people in one important monument.

This monument, to some extent the work of imagination, and executed from the plans of Mr. Digby Wyatt, stands at the very end of the nave; it is a complete gallery of the kings and queens of England, from the days of the Saxon Heptarchy down to the Norman dynasty, and after that, to the reign of Victoria. In this long series, where monarch succeeds monarch in chronological order, standing one over the other with some of the principal features of their epoch, one figure has been a source of considerable embarrassment to the artists whose task it was to thus inscribe in stone the annals of their nation; could they admit among the kings him who was the means of cutting off the head of Charles I.? That great man, who has not yet received a monument in Westminster Abbey,—could he stand up, in his great loose boots, his sword by his side, and his hat on his head, among the representatives of an institu-

tion which he did his best to destroy? And yet, on the other hand, would not his absence leave an important gap in history? Do not Englishmen, even the most devoted to monarchical views, trace back to him the organisation of their army, the extension of their commerce, and the excellence of their fleets? After some deliberation by the committee, the statue of Oliver Cromwell was excluded from the royal monument; but it would naturally take its place in the gallery of celebrated men. In front of this array of sovereigns, there has been arranged, down the whole length of the nave and transepts, busts or statues of great generals, statesmen, authors, scholars, and philosophers, belonging both to England and every other country. These latter show the bright line of succession to the throne of thought, and the glorious lineage of human sciences.

Here concludes the illustrated history of art; it was doubtless necessary to begin with this, for ancient communities have generally sought the beautiful in preference to the useful. In the Greek mythology, the haughty Juno blushed that she had been the mother of Vulcan, the representative of manual labour. In Rome the mechanical professions were always carried on by slaves. It is a characteristic of modern nations that they have brought with them into the various countries of Europe a new and aggressive power—I mean *manufactures*. This force was not developed to any extent in the

Middle Ages, repressed as they were by the military and priestly *régime*, and it is subject to quite another law than the appreciation of the beautiful. Art among the Greeks, after a short but inevitable term of infancy, arrived at a pitch of perfection which has never been surpassed. In the successive galleries at the Crystal Palace, all representing various epochs, it is more variations of form that a visitor meets with than any real progress; but this would not at all be the case with manufacture. Offspring of science, nature, and freedom of thought, she every day advances with the increasing domain embraced by human knowledge.

It would therefore, I think, have been both interesting and instructive to have collected together at the Crystal Palace the elements of a philosophical history of labour. Was there no room there to do for manufacture what they had already so successfully effected in respect of the fine arts? It would have been rather interesting to have watched the process of the separation of the working class from the races of chivalry, to see the useful professions take their rise, and trades and inventions succeeding one after the other. What nation could be better fitted than England to reproduce in actual representations what is called by one of her writers the *genesis* of the useful arts? The visitor to the Crystal Palace passes, without any transition whatever, from the monuments of the Renaissance into the full display

of modern ingenuity. It may be very possible that the revival of the fine arts was not disconnected with the development of manufacture; but still I think it would have been well to show the bonds of union which connect these two classes of things. Be all that as it may, we can perceive clearly enough, one after the other, the three great ages of history,—the priestly era, the military era, and the industrial era; which last will always surely limit the authority of the two former ancient powers by widening the sphere of the people's influence.

In the ornamentation of the *Industrial Courts* another plan has been followed; and instead of endeavouring to give an idea of the various epochs, they have sought to specify and illustrate the local character of the different branches of manual labour. We do not now range about through former times, exploring the relics of departed civilisation, and the records of long-past ages; our path now lies through the great manufacturing districts of modern geography. Thus, for instance, in the Birmingham Court, Mr. Tite has chosen, as means of decoration, iron-work as applied to architecture. The design of the iron lattice-work or screen, with its rich foliage and convolutions, belongs to the seventeenth century; but this work serves to point out one of the recent changes which have taken place in the art of metal-working. In former days, iron ornaments were fashioned or wrought by the hammer; now they are cast in a

mould. It is a recognised fact, that the latter method is much better adapted than the former to the damp climate of England, as cast-iron rusts very much less than wrought. Unfortunately, this beautiful court is like a frame without a picture. To those who have visited the town of Birmingham and its rich workshops, the court which bears its name will seem, alas, but very meagrely furnished. It has generally been found rather difficult to induce the great English manufacturers to form a *permanent* exposition of their productions. A step further on, and we are in Sheffield. The famous city of forges and workshops is represented, naturally enough, by specimens of cutlery, steel implements, and imitation jewelry. Another court has been devoted to articles of stationery generally. On the carved wooden panels which decorate the interior of this court there are medallions in which are represented Cupids engaged in the various mechanical processes of paper-making, printing, and engraving. Can this be an allusion to St. Valentine's day, and the intervention of these arts which then takes place in love affairs?

Each of these courts *ought* to be a school of instruction, as well as a bazaar; one ought to be able to follow out in them all the various transformations that the raw materials employed in manufactures are made to undergo by the hand of man. But is this the case? The directors of the Crystal Palace have certainly desired to exhibit all the riches of modern

ingenuity, from those real achievements which interest the thoughtful man, down to the toys and fancy objects which amuse the child; but still, up to the present time, they have not taken much pains to initiate the curious into the mysteries of manufacture. They might, however, have found in this a branch of instruction well capable of development, and also an element of material success; for the Anglo-Saxon race is never much moved by the world of mere ideas, but, on the other hand, a drop of the blood of Prometheus courses through their veins whenever operations of manufacturing skill are in question.

We now pass in succession through the *Oriental Court*, where they show, as a matter of course, the products of the Levant; the *Bohemian Court*, where the specimens of glass-ware are displayed; and we shall willingly pause at the *Ceramic Court*, where the artist, workman, and antiquary will find, each from his own peculiar point of view, many objects most interesting to him. Mr. Battam has brought together in this rich collection all kinds of specimens showing the progress of the art of the potter from the days of antiquity down to our own time. We see here vases which might have adorned the table of Verres, dishes and plates from which the Medici may have dined, jewelled cups out of which the court of Louis XIV. may have drunk at Versailles. We may also remark here Mexican, Greek, and Etruscan vases, Chinese porcelain, and other curiosities which

form an instructive contrast with the productions of Messein, Sèvres, Berlin, Vienna, and Worcester. The progress in this branch of industry (but is it not the same in every other branch?) has chiefly consisted in increasing the means of production, and varying the nature of the articles produced, so as to bring them readily within the reach of everyone. The working classes visit with some profit the *Court of Machinery in Motion*, where thousands of bobbins are revolving, and where the ponderous machines groan under the goading impetus of steam, where the carding combs tear, without cessation, either wool or cotton, with their pointed teeth. The countryman soon makes his way to the court devoted to agricultural implements. A more general interest, however, attaches to the *Court of Inventions*, where all useful discoveries, all the dreams of science mechanically applied, find, as it were, a right of citizenship.

We find, then, that the establishment at Sydenham is divided into two quite distinct portions—a temple of arts, and a palace of industry. Both these two divisions keep closely to the views of the founders; if man elevates his ideas by the pursuit of the beautiful, he unfetters himself from the chain of material wants by the achievements of labour and the help of machinery. In natural history, the latter epochs of the earth have been impressed by a peculiar stamp by the entry on the scene of various useful species, from which men have deduced the stock of

our domestic animals. Why should we not believe that something of the same sort has taken place, though in a different point of view, in the history of mankind? Why should it not be the case, that the first appearance in our communities of the industrial classes marks the starting-point of the great progress in modern times? Finally, the division of the Crystal Palace which is appropriated to manufactures, trade, and machinery, is visited with just as much partiality as the series of monuments of art, although it is by a different class of the population. I have noticed English workmen stopping in the former department the entire day, much to the displeasure of their wives, who would have liked to have had a look at the fountains playing, or at some of the fancy commodities, or at the delightful arabesques of the Alhambra. These men, though, were certainly an exception; for workmen in general manifest astonishment mingled with admiration at the statues, the restored relics of architecture, the temples, the palaces, and all the great historical phantasmagoria which recall to view the features of past ages and extinct communities.

The visitor is now at the place of departure—that entrance to the Crystal Palace at which man is represented in a savage state, just as he came out of the hands of nature. If this was the primitive condition of the human race, it is interesting to cast a last look down the long nave, illustrating, both right

and left, the train of progress which has raised him from his original abject state. In this grand ideal spectacle we see race succeed to race, and communities dividing off from one another with their various types, all approaching perfection the farther they are removed from their infant state. We all assist, as it were, in the metamorphoses of social life; man obtains stone from those mighty rocks which build up the architecture of our globe, and he communicates to it the attributes of his religious faith, and the ideal of his political institutions. He wrenches from nature the secrets of her laws, and the materials which she has hidden away in the grudging bosom of the earth, and from them he evolves the rudiments of the useful arts. Not content with operating on the future of his destinies, one might almost venture to say that he has *re-made* himself. Compare the Hottentot woman with the Venus of Milo, and you will find it difficult to doubt that beauty also has not made progress in the development and modification of races.

In each different community, the active, ruling principle of mankind seems varied; progress ceases in certain things, and is engrossed by new creations of thought. There are dark intervals, eclipses, gloomy times of transition, during which the veil of death seems to be descending over the world; everything suffers, but everything revives, and one can afterwards detect the traces of the movement of thought which at length opened out a path amid the ruins.

But that which has always increased, and is always increasing, is the feeling of right, and the love of liberty; a conception worthy of the Almighty, and His relations with nature. This spectacle is a noble one, and a religious one; far from intoxicating man with a false pride, it tells him that truth, like comfort, can only be got at by the sweat of the brow.

I am not at all astonished that the Crystal Palace has been chosen several times as the best place for celebrating the birthdays of some of our great poets, such as Schiller and Burns. What temple can be more fitting for doing honour to their memories than that in which mankind celebrate their own struggles and their own changes? Is not this building at once a book, a poem, a history? Even the new system of architecture which it inaugurates cannot fail to impress the spectator. What an amazing difference between this transparent hive, sheltering the labours of centuries, and the ancient Egyptian temples hollowed out at the side of some rocky mountain! It really seems as if matter itself had wished to exalt and idealise itself, in order the better to receive in these latter days the impression of the will of man. In one word, it needed a Palace of Glass.

Does not this edifice contain also the germ of a new plan of education? All the English physiologists are agreed that too much dependence has been placed on memory in the instruction of youth. By imposing on the mind of childhood a system of ready-

made knowledge, of which it can too often comprehend the words only, do we not destroy in the bud its unfettered judgment, its faculty of reasoning for itself, both the taste and the desire for depending on its own impressions of things? Do we not graft on the trunk of its mind the living bud of false conventional ideas and generally-received opinions? Many persons attribute to this plan of procedure the too common fund of general mediocrity, the slight resistance offered nowadays to arbitrary conclusions, and a kind of fear of exercising for oneself the powers of decision. The object seems rather to adorn the mind, than to invigorate its resources and sharpen its weapons. Is there not plenty of room for a change, by substituting, at least in part, a practical education by means of things and facts? Can it not be brought about that an individual should direct his course, just as the whole race of men have trodden out for themselves paths, leaning for guidance with one hand on nature, and the other on tradition? To help in this research, by placing on the road both the materials of science and the monuments of history—this would be the future task of the fraternity of instructors.

The Crystal Palace may be looked upon as an attempt, a first step in this new direction.* The prac-

* A ladies' school has been recently attached to the establishment. For two or three guineas a quarter each pupil can attend a course of lectures, enjoying at their will all the intellectual riches of the Palace, and having the use of a library or reading-room,

tical mind of the English has been long convinced of the nothingness of certain notions, as short-lived as the words that convey them. Real knowledge can only be grafted on the mind of a child, as on the mind of a nation, by the intervention of actual impressions. This is the reason why they have sought, by a thus plastic course of study, to interest the senses in intellectual pleasures, and, by the sight of external objects, to inspire a taste for reading and thought. "The fruit of the tree of knowledge," says the Bible, "was *pleasant to the eyes;*" and it is by the fascinations of form that we must seek to allure the masses to enlightenment. By placing before the eyes, as in an ever-recurring drama, the history both of creation and of mankind, do we not furnish the spectator with means for tracing out for himself and linking together all those eternal laws which rule over the organisation of matter and the development of communities? Some believers, perhaps, will find fault, that they have not clearly enough marked out that which Bossuet calls "the traces of the finger of God." These traces, and indeed the whole divine and providential plan of history, can readily be discovered by the conscience of each spectator, under the veil of events, of natural laws, and of the developments of mankind.

Do not institutions like this—to which our neigh-

composed of five thousand volumes of works, written principally upon the Fine Arts.

bours intentionally give the title of *Palaces of the People*—teach us something as to English society? Do they not give a startling denial to those false ideas so commonly spread abroad on the French side of the Channel? Great Britain has been too readily represented as an aristocratic nation; if we were to believe certain writers, liberty is only preserved in England by its being based on a rigid division of classes, on the grandeur of a secular nobility on the one hand, and on the abasement and ignorance of the multitude on the other. If such were really the essential conditions of liberty, they would long hesitate before they adopted her banner. Happily, it is the exact contrary which is true. I do not deny but that the English follow after and honour their social hierarchy; but they look to their liberty for limiting the weight of certain influences, and for elevating, by enlightening, their most numerous classes.

Where else would you find palaces of education built, not by the action of the Government, but by the money of voluntary contributors? In what other country could the workman have at his disposal his fountains, like those of Louis XIV. at Versailles, his park all peopled with statues, and his *pleasure-palace* where, for one shilling, he can walk about with his wife and children, amid all the splendours of art, and all the teachings of history? The most absolute monarch would have hesitated at the expense of giving so princely a course of education to his only son. I

shall be told that the working classes are not the only ones to profit by these advantages. No, doubtless; this palace has been built *for all;* but O, it is a liberal idea, thus joining together all classes of society, from the peer to the bricklayer, on the neutral ground of general instruction and high-minded recreation. Governments who dreaded the people would not have acted thus; they would more readily have opened to them the broad path of coarse and physical pleasures, well knowing that a besotted multitude is all the easier to be led. The Coliseum and the taverns of Rome were a necessity for the Cæsars. Liberty is more moral; as she claims the honour of reigning over the mind alone, she willingly opens up to the *million* the prospect of the ideal and the paths of progress.

The Church of England has herself set the example of connecting education with religion; she cannot therefore wonder if science, philosophy, and the fine arts, have thought proper to bring together, as the elements of their moral creed, the traditions of mankind, the lessons of facts, and the aspirations of free thought. Let us now, however, hasten to return to the subject of Religious Life more properly so called.

CHAPTER X.

Religious life in foreign missions—Ubiquity of England—Her moral conquests in the regions not under her sway—The Bible Society—Stereo-typography—The confusion of tongues—Difficulties met with in translating the Bible into the ancient Eastern dialects—William Wilberforce—*Colporteurs*—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—The Church Missionary Society—The Baptist Missionary Society—Museum of the London Missionary Society—A god eaten by rats—A new idol, manufactured by Christians—The Wesleyan Missionary Society.

We must turn our eyes across the seas to find England's chiefest glory. Her power lies in her ubiquity. Without mentioning her established colonies, what country, whether tropical or ice-bound, can evade the adventurous spirit of her emigrants? Where is the coast unvisited by her ships? Material force would be found of but little avail in protecting such an aggregate of political and commercial interests. The cannon of her war-ships, however numerous and powerful the latter might be, would certainly fail in enforcing respect to the Queen's flag floating over every sea. England, therefore, has long since had recourse to a system of moral influence in order to establish the unity of her empire from pole to pole. One of the least-known elements of this system is the

plan of religious propagandism. They endeavour by a community in faith to assimilate to their own type those nations which they might vainly think of conquering by force of arms. Protestant missionaries have been the instruments, all over the world, of a conquest in which nothing is due to military enterprise, but which often opens out a path for the intervention and ultimate supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. Thanks to these champions of the faith, England now reigns over many territories which she never conquered, and her spiritual weapons have carried her on far in advance of her warlike banners. In every country, even the most remote, she disseminates a Book as her representative and ambassador.

Whenever any really national work is set about in England, it is not the Government but society at large which takes it up. We must, therefore, not be surprised to find that the foreign missions are supported by the free donations and the independent efforts of the various religious bodies. The principal energies and appliances for this great proselytising movement are, of course, concentrated in London; and there, at their starting-point, must we contemplate these Christian travellers, before we accompany them on their dangerous mission.

One of the districts of London which has been the most turned upside down by the opening of the new lines of railway, and by the construction of the embankment on one of the banks of the Thames, is, with-

out question the neighbourhood of Blackfriars. The river there, diverted from a portion of its natural bed, and narrowed by an artificial bank, on which cart-loads of earth are every moment being unloaded, is besides crossed by three bridges at intervals of not many yards. One of these three bridges, based on cast-iron columns, affords a way to the monstrous locomotives, rolling like thunder as they run over it; the second, made of wood, gives to foot-passengers and carriages a temporary means of crossing to the other bank; while of the third, nothing can as yet be seen but some stout granite pillars just rising above the surface of the water. Not far from the scene of all these operations and of this Babel-like confusion, branches off a little street, called Earl-street, which also will have to undergo considerable changes. It is expected that the line of embankment now being constructed will send on an immense amount of traffic towards the city; and to open a way for this new tide of men and carriages the Metropolitan Board of Works have lately resolved to make a long wide street to connect the new bridge at Blackfriars with the Mansion-house. In order to facilitate the course of this new artery of communication, half of Earl-street will have to be pulled down. After all, there is not much to regret in this street; there is, however, among the buildings doomed to destruction, one which well deserves our attention.

On the outside, it is simply a large brick house,

having nothing very remarkable about it; but over the doorway we read *Bible Society*. There, for more than half a century, a committee has sat whose influence has more or less made itself felt to the very ends of the earth. The Bible Society is one of the great citadels of English Protestantism; in place of artillery it has its printing presses, from which books emanate by millions, printed in a hundred and sixty-nine different languages, and in every variety of type. Inside, it is taken up with counting-houses, warehouses, rooms for meetings, and a library of a sacred character, containing 5000 volumes and manuscripts. The history of this institution is closely bound up with the annals of religious propagandism in Great Britain, the English colonies, and even in those remote isles which ships seldom touch at.

The Bible Society was founded in 1804. The 7th of March, in that year, a meeting took place at the London Tavern; about 300 persons attended; and a sum of about 700*l.* was soon collected for the purpose of increasing and encouraging the circulation of the Bible. No sooner was it established than the Society at once went to work; and in 1805 it sent forth into the world a first edition of the New Testament in English. About this time the art of stereotyping, which had been long known in Europe, but up to that period had been found not feasible in practice, made great progress in England under the direction of Earl Stanhope and Robert Wilson, the

engineer. This process was the means of rendering important services to the Bible Society, by enabling it to multiply copies cheaply, so as to sell them at a very low price.*

The number and variety of dialects caused a considerable degree of complication in the task of the Society. Only to mention their own country, there are five distinct languages in the British isles,—the Welsh, the ancient Irish or Erse, Gaelic, Manx,† and English. It was necessary to translate the Bible into all these idioms before printing it. The difficulty, of course, became much greater when the Society directed its efforts towards the continent of Europe, and most especially so when the other parts of the world were in question. What a multiplicity of various indications of thought! how many languages are there of which one does not even know the name, and letters which seem to defy the human intellect! The Society, nevertheless, triumphed over all these obstacles; and either the whole Bible or portions of it are, at the present day, printed in fourteen Polyne-

* After a long trial, the process of stereotyping has been, in great part, relinquished. The Society at present prefers another plan. They have the whole book composed, and keep the leaden type fixed, or in form. It has been considered that in this way type wears out less quickly, and that errors in printing are easier to correct. This process requires, it is true, a considerable expense at the commencement; but it is the most economical in the end.

† A Celtic dialect peculiar to the Isle of Man.

sian dialects, in nineteen African idioms, and in fifteen primitive languages of the New World. Who would not be puzzled at the very sight of Chinese writing, as hieroglyphical and impenetrable as the civilisation of that mysterious people? Well, so great is the facility which the English have latterly acquired in printing books in Chinese, that a translation of the New Testament, which used once to cost two guineas, can now be sold for threepence halfpenny in the shops at Pekin. In India, there was another virgin forest for them to cut into; but to do this satisfactorily, it was necessary to master some very difficult idioms. One of the members of the Society, to whom was committed the task of translating the Bible into Tamil (the language spoken by nearly 12,000,000 of the inhabitants of India), had studied it for twelve years, and another one, fourteen years, before undertaking this delicate task. One of the greatest obstacles which the translators of the sacred volume have had to contend with is the insufficiency of religious expressions amid the poetical richness of the Oriental languages. The words are wanting, because the ideas which they should express are quite unknown to certain races of mankind.* In spite of all this, the Society have success-

* One instance will suffice, I think, to point out the nature of this difficulty. Mr. Thompson, a missionary who was commissioned to translate the Scriptures into Thibetian, some time back, complained that he could find no word in this language which

fully carried out their plans with regard to about forty dialects which flourish in India and Ceylon. The total number of translations amounts to 207, and since 1804 the institution has disseminated in the world more than *forty-six million* copies of the Bible.

The management of the Bible Society rests in a committee composed of thirty-six laymen. Among these influential members, six are foreigners residing in London or its environs, the remainder are English, and divided into two equal moieties, one belonging to the Church of England, and the other to the various Christian Dissenting bodies. The committee meet regularly at the Society's house the first and third Mondays in each month. The committee itself nominates a president, vice-president, and secretaries, all of whom have the right of voting, as also any members of the clergy of the Church of England, or

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answered to the idea of *justice*. "I have also sought in vain," he added, "for a word by which to designate *conscience*." The translator was obliged to employ a periphrase—"*the distinguishing between good and evil*." The case is the same in the terms, *spirit, vision, trance, to judge, to condemn, to reconcile*,—all of which have no equivalents in the idioms of Thibet. The *trance* of the Orientals, for instance, is a different kind of phenomenon to that among Christians,—the natural and voluntary transport of the soul out of the world of sense. *Death* itself, as a substantive and the equivalent of a fact, has no existence among the Thibetians; they only recognise *things that are dead*. Mr. Thompson made inquiries among the *lamas*, the scholars of the country; but all he could gather from them only served to show more clearly how great a difference existed between their mode of thought and ours,

any of the Dissenting ministers who wish to take a part in the meetings. Among their vice-presidents was the celebrated William Wilberforce, who, in 1803, was instrumental in passing the Act of Parliament for the abolition of slavery in all the English colonies. The committee then held a meeting to testify to him their satisfaction at this great measure. All the authority is primarily derived from the annual meeting, which is held on the 1st of May, and at which all the members of the Society have a right to attend. The committee itself, as well as the treasurer, are elected by this meeting, before entering on their duties, and the accounts and the report are then sanctioned. In order to become a member of the Society, it is necessary to pay one guinea a year; those who pay down ten guineas at once are life-members.

The principal sources of revenue are subscriptions, legacies, donations, and the collections in the various churches, chapels, and schools. The operations of the Society are assisted also by the concurrence of the Auxiliary and Branch Societies, which number 3887 in the United Kingdom, and 1059 in the colonies and other English dependencies. The members of these *auxiliaries* very often pay no more than a penny a week; but tiny rivulets joined together form great rivers. In 1804, the new-born institution collected only 640*l.*; its annual receipts now amount to more than 160,000*l.* The Branch

Societies furnish them, in addition, with allies in every inhabited country. The old house in Earl-street, whence the Bibles wing their way, is known even among the savages in the Fejee Islands. Endowed with almost incalculable powers of expansion, this Society embraces the whole world. It may well give to its work the epithet of *Catholic*.*

In 1845, the Bible Society adopted a system of *colportage*, which very much helped to extend the sale of their books. These *colporteurs*, or book-hawkers, form quite a distinct class among the English population. They are especially to be met with

* In reference to these great exertions to spread the Scriptures, is it not natural to ask how this English Bible was formed, which, at the present time, serves as prototype to almost all the translations which are being made into foreign languages? From the time of Wycliffe down to the reign of James I., England had no generally accredited version of the Holy Scriptures. James I., to supply this want, selected fifty-four learned men who were distinguished in this class of study. Forty-seven of them set to work. They were divided into six independent classes, to each of which a portion of the work was assigned. Each person had to produce his translation, and submit it to a council of his colleagues. When a class was agreed upon the version for any portion of the book, this version was communicated to all the other classes, so that each fragment received the sanction of the entire body. Their labour lasted for three years—from 1607 to 1610. The first copy proceeded from the printing-press of Robert Barker in 1611. The study of the Oriental languages was not then in a very advanced stage, and many of these scholars, who were officially nominated, were doubtless wanting in critical acumen. Their translation of the Bible, accepted as it is both by the Established Church and the Dissenters, is not, however, on this account the less recognised as one of the monuments of English literature.

in the hop-gardens at the season of hop-picking, at the fairs, markets, and other places of public resort. At Newcastle, at the Royal Agricultural Show in 1864, one of them set up near the show-place a little tent in which people might take refuge in case of rain. He took advantage of this plan to offer his goods, and succeeded in selling 1449 copies of the Bible. Others choose steamers or the docks for their sphere of operations; and in the year 1864, 4807 Bibles were bought, thanks to the energy of the *colporteurs*, by the crews of the 15,715 vessels which navigate the Thames. These Bible emissaries, of course, do not all obtain a like success; those, for instance, who travel in parts of the country where the cottages are widely scattered about, must naturally get rid of fewer copies than would be the case in the manufacturing districts, although the efforts used may have been at least as great. The difficulty is to make an excuse for not buying, for they offer you the same book printed in type adapted to every condition of sight, from infancy up to old age; they even have them with letters in relief, for the use of the blind. There was one thing which displeased me in some of these *colporteurs;* and this was a kind of mystical and canting jargon that they made use of, joined with considerable cunning and talent for business. There are some who even go so far as to make use of some of the menaces contained in the Book they offer, in

order to force the sale of their stock. Taken altogether, however, they are a moral and pretty-well educated class.

For some years past the Bible Society has taken up the idea of making use of the assistance of women for this kind of service. Under the appellation of *Bible-women*, there are now in England about two hundred of these female Bible-agents, for whom the committee vote every year a sum of 840*l.* by way of salaries. They are more winning in their ways than the men are, and, with their ready tongues and decent and modest air, they make their way to the very fire-side of the poor, under the plea of imparting to them the blessing of the Word of God. The Society sells its books at an incredibly low price; but except in some peculiar cases, they believe that if they gave them away, they would diminish the value they would wish to see set upon them; for the English do not much esteem anything they do not pay for.

This system of *colportage* has been extended far beyond the limits of Great Britain. It has been organised on the same principles over the whole of Europe, in China, in Turkey, in India — in fact, throughout the entire world. More than once political revolutions have been found to favour the views of this Society, by breaking down the barriers which have been set up in certain Catholic countries against the free course of the trade in books. Thus, in the former kingdom of Naples, since its union with the

rest of Italy, the sale of Bibles has been increased by many thousands of copies; we see from this that the committee of the Bible Society have had good cause to thank Garibaldi. The same state of things was brought about in France after the revolution of 1848. In Eastern countries, the trade of Bible-hawking is very often carried on by converted Jews, who unite all the zeal of a proselyte with the discernment of a broker. Besides the salaried agents, the Society counts in England and elsewhere a large number of voluntary helpers. It would scarcely be believed, that a fertile field for the spread of the Bible is found in the public-house. In one district only in England 7388 Bibles were sold in three years at the houses of about a hundred publicans, amongst workmen who had come in with the intention of spending the Saturday evening. By the help of all these means the Society issued in 1864, 2,495,118 copies.

After such a diffusion of the Scriptures as this, how can it be wondered at that they are to be met with almost everywhere in England? Go into the waiting-room at a railway station, and the only volume that you will find to dispel the *ennui* of time is the one that teaches you about eternity. If one sleeps at an hotel, the Bible lies beside the bed, on the bed-room table. When a party of emigrants are leaving the ports of London, Liverpool, or Southampton, the mother country bids them adieu, and, as it were, follows them over the sea, by means of a

Bible. The committee regulates all these distributions, and they call it "casting bread upon the waters." What is it that the English missionary preaches on every far distant desert where he pitches his tent? The Bible—always the Bible. It is related, that Queen Victoria replied to the delegates of some semi-barbarous nation who manifested in her presence a kind of rapture at the sight of the marvels of British civilisation, "I will show you the source of our social greatness;" and at the same time presented to them a Bible. Whether this anecdote be true or false, this way of looking at the matter is shared by the greater part of the nation. Can it be possible that a book so generally pervading society should not have made a marked impression on the mind and manners of the English? It is not my task, however, to trace out the course of this influence, except as regards the relations of Great Britain with foreign races.

The Bible Society is not the only association which makes it its business to multiply the Scriptures in the same way as the five loaves in the wilderness;* but a book so foreign to the ideas and customs of anti-Christian nations can hardly speak intelligibly *by itself*. It has therefore been thought necessary to call in the aid of the vivifying influence

* Among the most active, I must name the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*

of interpretation. In fact, the Bible Societies are closely allied with the Missionary Societies, of which there are no less than forty-one in the United Kingdom; but it will only be necessary to notice the most important of these.

The most ancient, and unquestionably one of the principal societies, is the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, which was established in 1701. It was at first intended to diffuse Christian instruction in the British colonies only; but, not being satisfied with devoting its efforts to possessions covering an extent of 9,000,000 of square miles, at the present day it invades many other lands over which the Queen's flag does not float The celebrated John Wesley was one of the missionaries of this Society, by which he was sent to America from 1735 to 1738. At the date of its establishment, it could number no more than twenty of its emissaries to distant lands; its jurisdiction and assistance now extend over 3000 clergymen of the Church of England, spread over every part of the world. Throughout the vast regions to which its influence penetrates, it lays down the episcopal and parochial system just as it exists in the mother country, and thus imprints on countries of the most various characters the common stamp of Protestant Church organisation. This Society, at the head of which stand the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries of the kingdom, enjoys a revenue which

amounted, in 1864, to 102,997*l.*, derived from subscriptions and voluntary gifts.

Another great institution, likewise founded on the principles of the Established Church, is the *Church Missionary Society*. It took its rise in London, in 1799, at a meeting of clergy and laymen. During the two first years it only managed to get together the small sum of 177*l.* Its *pecuniary* resources certainly increased a little in time; but as for men for its purpose, that is, missionaries, there seemed an absolute want of them in England. The coast of Africa, and particularly the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, where they proposed to begin their operations, were then considered the most unhealthy regions in the world. About the same time, another Protestant Missionary Society existed in Germany, where they could find plenty of men, but no money. The two institutions formed mutual arrangements; the English agreed to furnish funds, if the Germans would undertake to provide soldiers for this new work of moral conquest. Thus they were foreigners, these first champions who entered the lists, and who opened up the path for British enterprise in these much-dreaded countries. There is one remarkable fact: that the women of England showed at that time more courage than the men; the German missionaries, who most of them married in England before they went out, took with them their English brides, bravely determined to incur all the dangers

of the climate. At the present day, what a change has taken place! Englishmen have now replaced the foreign element in the *personnel* of the missions; and to what an immense extent has the circle of their work been enlarged! The Society now sends out 680 Christian labourers to work at the conversion of the world; its emissaries preach or teach in more than fifty different languages, and its 800 schools afford Christian instruction to 36,000 children or adults, chosen among all the tribes of the human race. In 1865, the Church Missionary Society collected in the United Kingdom the enormous sum of 144,464*l.* Provided with such resources as these, she doubtless handles a most powerful lever, worked by the intelligence of the Protestant clergy in almost every part of the world.

The Dissenting denominations have been very far indeed from remaining isolated from this religious conquest of the universe by the influence of English ideas. In 1786, Dr. Carey, the minister of a Baptist congregation, drew the attention of his brethren to the state of idolatrous countries generally. He had been attracted to the idea of Christian proselytism by a great love of geography, and he wished to give a sacred impulse to this study of the terrestrial globe and its languages. In 1791 he broached the subject at a meeting of Baptist ministers, held at Clipstone in Northamptonshire. A year later, a society was formed under the name of the *Baptist Mis-*

sionary Society. Some time after, Dr. Carey left for the East Indies, and a printing-press was soon established there, at Serampore. He was endowed with the gift of languages to an almost incredible degree, and translated the Scriptures, in conjunction with his brother missionaries, into forty or fifty different idioms for the use of the various tribes of Hindoos. His death, which took place in 1834, was a blow to every friend of learning.

This society of Baptist missionaries, which, in 1865, enjoyed an annual income of 28,744*l.*, owes a great part of its success to its spirit of toleration and prudence. In 1805 it recommended to its missionaries to pay respect to the prejudices of the Hindoos, by refraining from any violent attacks upon their idols, and from interfering in the ceremonies of their worship. "Gospel conquests," it added, "must be conquests of love." This same association now extends its labours and its struggles to several other parts of the world. It has been latterly somewhat mixed up in the sad events which have taken place in Jamaica; it had predicted them, and believed no doubt that it could avert them, by vigorously denouncing to the local government the just grievances, as it thought, of the black race.

In Bloomfield-street, Finsbury, stands a new stone building belonging to the *London Missionary Society*, founded in 1795 by Christians of various denominations, but which has been mostly supported

by the Independents.* The walls of the waiting-rooms, and the private rooms of the directors, are covered with the portraits of missionaries and their wives. To this phalanx of Christian warriors belong the illustrious names of Morrison, Ellis, Moffat, and Livingstone. I visited also, with much interest, a museum of objects collected by the Christian travellers in the vast mission-field of the Society. Although the natural history of the different climates, and the domestic life and employments of the various tribes of the human species, are all pretty well represented in this gallery, the collection of idols is by far the most curious part of it. Who would not be struck with the sight of the singular monuments of this graphic history of various forms of worship? The gods, which are the creation of the inferior races, look like the embryos of the more perfect gods which follow them in other religious systems. Through what a series of *avatars* has the idea of the Supreme Being developed itself in the human mind!

The series of idols in this museum commences with the gods of Polynesia. When, in 1818, the King Pomare was converted to Christianity, he sent his family idols to the English missionaries. "I

* Enjoying a revenue of 91,048*l.*, the London Missionary Society maintains 167 European missionaries, 700 schoolmasters belonging to various races, all more or less barbarous, and eight colleges for instructing missionaries and catechists from among the natives themselves.

wish," he stated in a letter, "that you would send them to England, to show them there the appearance of the gods which Otahiti used to worship." I must say that these images are not much credit to the nation which sacrificed to them. Most of them are lumps of wood roughly carved, on which the savage has imprinted the character of his low and voracious instincts. For instance, what can be thought of an idol with scarcely any head, and all of it taken up with an immense mouth armed with pointed teeth? Some of these fetishes have been rendered even more ugly and ridiculous by certain commonplace accidents; thus, Tarignarue, the great god of Atui, was nearly eaten up by the rats which had taken up their abode in the inside of the statue. One really feels inclined to turn away the head with shame at these hideous nightmares of religious feeling, and pass on to the commonplace divinities of China. These sensual and familiar-looking idols point out a people devoid of much sense of the ideal, even in the fancies of art; but still how far removed they are from those hideous abortions, the Polynesian gods! The grander mythology of India seems to tower over this frightful series of images; and in its strange and symbolic types there are some which even approach the proportions of beauty. Among the divinities of this land, so fertile in marvels, figures, in a rather unlooked-for way, an elegant *statuette* of the Virgin and Child. This effigy has had strange destinies: having been

fashioned in gilt wood by an Italian artist, it was taken out to the East Indies by the Catholic missionaries; admitted, in the lapse of time, into the Pantheon of the Hindoo faith, all kinds of virtue were attributed to it, and its removal caused a real consternation in the country. Is not this too often the history of missions? They seek to destroy the superstitions of a people, and in doing so bring them fresh idols.

The Wesleyans, who form one of the most extensive and most active denominations in Great Britain, could not fail to claim their share of influence in a work so profoundly national. Since 1786 they have had emissaries in different quarters of the globe; but it was not until 1816 that the society was formed known under the name of the *Wesleyan Missionary Society*. Dr. Coke, one of the first Methodist missionaries, met with considerable opposition in the West Indies from the slave-owners. The planters there declared themselves against the Bible, under the pretence that a slave knowing how to read was no longer fit to fulfil the duties of his condition. This society, which occupies the Centenary Hall, a large building with columns in front, collected in 1864 the sum of 141,899*l.* Every branch of English Protestantism, then, as we see, manifests a devoted liberality and a self-denying spirit of sacrifice, at least equal to any other religion, no matter which. The capital engaged in the field of Foreign Missions is estimated

at near a million of money. Let us hasten, then, to consider the works of these rich societies. In the series of English missions, extending over the whole earth, we shall see the spirit of Christianity grappling with all the gradations of the human intellect, from the savage who can with difficulty spell out a few lines, to those ancient Eastern communities where art and poetry found their primitive home.

CHAPTER XI.

The *John Williams*—The *Duff*—History of the South-Sea missions—John Williams the missionary—His *Messenger of Peace*—Cannibal tribes—W. Ellis—Man-eating gods, even where their worshippers have ceased to eat one another—The savage's idea as to the religion of the English—Polynesian legends—It is easier to change the gods of a nation than the heart of man—Native agents—Story of Elekana—The missionaries teach the savages the use of the alphabet—How can a written message speak when it has no mouth?—Introduction of domestic animals—A pair of shoes stolen by rats—An Englishwoman weeping because she had ceased to like beef—The savages' wives in bonnets and crinoline—The proselytism of fashions—Alteration in manners—Missionary life—Their houses—Their wives—Hurricanes—Man-stealers.

On the 4th of January 1866 there lay at anchor in the river at Gravesend a ship which had never yet braved the dangers of the deep. This was the new *John Williams;* it had taken the place of a vessel of the same name, which, after twenty years in the Pacific Ocean, sank on the 17th May 1864, within sight of Danger Island; the shipwrecked mariners being rescued by the very savages to whom, at the time of its first visit, this ship had brought the glad tidings of Christianity. The news of this disaster caused a considerable sensation, and the children in Danger Island, imitated also by the young people in the other adjacent islands, forwarded various offerings

for the construction of another John Williams. Those who were without money brought oil, coffee, tobacco, and arrowroot. The London Missionary Society, to whom the shipwrecked vessel belonged, did its part by opening a subscription, which was mostly made up by the children in the English schools, and soon reached the amount of more than 12,000*l.* Aided by these voluntary donations, they built in the shipyards at Aberdeen this proud vessel, which, now all fitted out, was about to face the perils of the Southern Ocean.

Ten passengers, the missionaries and their wives, were standing on her deck, taking leave of all that was around them; six of them were destined for the Navigators' Islands, the four others for Raratonga and Huaheine. The last moment before the setting sail of a ship is always a solemn one; but in this case the length of the voyage, and the purely moral aim which this vessel was meant to accomplish across the seas, added much to the emotion of the lookers-on. One would have looked in vain, however, for all those scenes of distress and confusion which so generally prevail under similar circumstances. The countenances of the travellers, especially of the females, expressed but a light shade of melancholy, and were lighted up with a ray of calm and self-possessed enthusiasm. Among the chief characteristics of English missionaries is somewhat of an erratic propensity joined with their religious feelings.

If faith can still be found upon the earth, surely it is amongst these men that we ought to look for it. Their families, from whom they are not always separated in their far-distant expeditions, give them a great advantage over the Catholic priests. Who forms the truest Protestant missionary amid more or less idolatrous races? Few could fail to answer—Woman; for on her and her children the London societies reckon, even more than upon the man, for insinuating the graces of English Christianity into the good opinions of the savage.

In the mean time the John Williams, all her sails spread, seemed to tremble with impatience. After various signals, the captain's voice gave the word to weigh anchor, and the ship sailed on her first voyage. The crowd around followed her with their eyes for some time; all the other numerous ships ploughing the surface of the water were but the emissaries of business,—she alone was the representative of an idea.

The London Missionary Society was the first to enter upon the virgin field of Polynesia. In 1796, it sent nineteen labourers for the faith to Otahiti in the ship *Duff*, a vessel which had been bought expressly for this service, and which will always remain famous in the annals of British missions. At first starting, however, its fate was not a fortunate one. It being war-time, the Duff, during a second voyage, was captured in the South Sea by a French priva-

teer, which brought her into Rio Janeiro. The twenty-nine missionaries who took part in this second expedition returned to England after ten months' absence, without having even reached the end of their voyage. Thirteen other missionaries were conveyed in 1800, by a vessel in which a malignant fever broke out; three died or abandoned their companions. Nearly every one began to ask whether this work were worth the lives, money, and sacrifices which it had put England to the cost of. On the other hand, the state of the mission was deplorable: the savages, who were at first favourably disposed to the strangers, had ended by turning against them. Desertion also had invaded their ranks. One of the missionaries had married an idolatrous wife, and another had altogether renounced his religion. To all this must be added the difficulties which were inherent in any undertaking of this kind. At the beginning the missionaries had everything to learn—the history, the manners, the geography even of the country. As there was, of course, neither grammar nor dictionary of the language, which had never been written in any form, it was necessary for them to pick it up as they heard it, and to reproduce, as well as they could, the strange and rough sounds which came from the mouths of the aborigines. How, then, could one expect but that the first field of their labours should be unfruitful? The missionaries were compelled to

leave Otahiti in 1810, and to betake themselves to New South Wales. In fact, all seemed lost, when, about the year 1812, the conversion to Christianity of the Queen Pomare caused a sudden change to come over the face of things. It was not, however, until the end of 1818, the epoch when the celebrated missionary champion, John Williams, entered the lists, that English influence could be said to have really made its way into this isle-bespotted ocean.

John Williams lived eighteen years among the savages, and travelled 100,000 miles for their sakes. At first he was limited to the island of Raiatea, but he soon longed to spread the Gospel in the Hervey Island group, and in the archipelago of the Navigators' Islands; but as it is impossible to pass over the seas on foot, and there were no means of passage at his disposal, he resolved to construct a vessel for himself. The missionary went bravely to work; but before beginning on the vessel, it was necessary for him to make the requisite tools with his own hands. There were only four goats on the island in his time, one of which gave milk. John Williams killed three of them, and endeavoured from their skins to contrive a bellows for his forge. Unfortunately he had not reckoned on the rats, which swarmed in these savage countries; and they ate up his work. By dint of perseverance, and with the help of the aborigines, to whom he had taught the first principles of naval architecture, he succeeded,

in spite of all difficulties, in launching a kind of Noah's Ark, not so bad-looking after all, to which he gave the name of the *Messenger of Peace.* Such a vessel could hardly be expected to stand against a very stormy sea, as there was such a deficiency in the means for construction. It was made out of pieces of wood barely joined together with little bits of iron; the hull was done over with a mixture of lime and the gum of the bread-fruit tree, to serve instead of pitch; whilst the sails were formed of the mats used by the natives to lie on, sewn together so as to hold the wind. Nevertheless, in this frail craft John Williams fearlessly commenced his voyage of discovery. This fifth quarter of the world was, in fact, so little known then, that it was mainly by the aid of the legends and vague indications afforded him by the aborigines that he succeeded in finding out some of the islands hidden in the vastness of the ocean.

The inhabitants of many of these islands inspired our travellers with a dread which was well justified by the murder of Captain Cook, and some other tragical adventures. Many of the natives were cannibals; others used poisoned arrows, and even concealed some venomous matter either in the food that they sold to the strangers, or in the water that they procured for them out of their rivulets.* John Williams, however, braved all these dangers.

* Some of these tribes were cannibals even in their sports. One of the children pretended to be dead, and the others carried

The missionaries were, nevertheless, compelled to keep well on their guard in the first interview with any savage tribe; and they generally had with them, on board their vessel, one or two chiefs of some of the neighbouring isles, whom they had won over to their cause. The natives, seeing men of their own nation and colour, were inclined to disarm and to join more readily in a parley. They then exchanged a kind of peace-offering: the savages, on their part, brought the fruit of the bread-fruit tree, a piece of stuff, or some other present, to which was attached the sacred leaf of the cocoa-nut tree; the strangers offered some trifles, which served as a sign of friendship. When this was done, the natives launched their canoes, and the vessel was soon surrounded by crowds of wild-looking and tatooed men, whose cries and gestures were anything but reassuring. The missionary would then explain the aim of his visit; and if his propositions were accepted, he landed, accompanied by one or two native schoolmasters whom he had brought with him. This was the way in which John Williams introduced himself into many islands; and who can tell how far his conquests might have extended if they had not been cut short by his massacre in 1839 by the savages of Eromanga?

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him about, chanting the feasting-song. Subsequently the savages imagined, on seeing the missionaries eating meat, that the latter were eating one of their companions. They knew no other flesh, poor wretches, than the flesh of man.

Mr. W. Ellis, another missionary endowed with devoted courage and high powers of intellect, succeeded him for some time in the South Seas; and he has been since followed by a whole army of evangelists. After such constantly-repeated efforts, is it not quite natural to ask, what alteration has been produced by the influence of England in the inhabitants of the Pacific Archipelago? In the first place, the reign of idolatry has been almost entirely swept away. All the poor gods, whose acquaintance we made in the Missionary Museum in London, have met with, for the most part, rather humiliating ends. Some have been kicked to pieces by the savages themselves, some were thrown into the water with a stone round their necks, others were burnt to make a fire for cooking. But, after all, did they not deserve their fate? Even the tribes who were not actually cannibals had idols to which they offered up human sacrifices. The old superstitions, however, did not offer any very strong resistance, except in certain cases, where the chiefs had a personal interest in keeping up a form of worship which conferred upon them divine honours. The rude temples, the wooden statues, in fact all the hideous symbols of an unintelligible theology, gave way before the Gospel, as the Polynesian forests fall before the might of a southern hurricane. It cannot be denied, though, that the savages sometimes formed a curious idea of the religion of the English. One of

the natives of Raratonga, seeing a missionary walking about with his Bible in his hand, cried out, "Look at this man's god, and see what a strange god it is! He carries it about in his pocket, whilst ours are set up at the *Marae*."* It would be a difficult matter to separate from the progress of Christianity those advantages which were afforded the missionaries by the benefits of civilisation. The savages, in the habit of referring everything to some supernatural principle, could at first see nothing more in the God of the English than a god more powerful and perhaps less mischievous than their own, since he had taught them to wear shoes, to clothe themselves, and to make all kinds of ingenious utensils.

At an epoch like the present, when the course of study seems attracted towards the circumstances attending the origin of Christianity, it would be, perhaps, curious to endeavour to trace out a source of analogy in the present state of Foreign Missions. We can, for one thing, see in them how legends came to be originated. The missionaries were driven away from an island whither they had come to preach the Gospel, and were plundered by the natives. A short time after their departure, an epidemic broke out which affected both old men and children. The savages, attributing this calamity to the vengeance

* Temple of the Polynesian gods.

of the strangers' God, collected all the things which they had robbed them of, and threw them down in a cavern. They then made a solemn vow. "If," they cried, "the God of the strangers would only suspend the execution of His decree, and bring back His worshippers to our coasts, we will receive them as hospitably as we can, and will share with them our food." If these missionaries returned, the whole country was from henceforth open to their influence. On another occasion, the only daughter of the chief of one of the tribes was dangerously ill. Notice was given to the priests, who then ceased not to offer sacrifices and invoke their idols, both day and night. The child died; and the father, angry with his ungrateful gods, sent his own son to set fire to the temple. The good missionaries might be, perhaps, a little tempted to look upon facts like these in the light of miracles; more modest, however, they are content with tracing out in them the over-ruling hand of Providence.

If I am not much mistaken, if these inhabitants of the islands of the ocean ever find chroniclers, there will be a shade of the marvellous necessarily mixed up with the history of the first introduction of Christianity to their shores. A savage king, who had been for a long time very unfortunate in war, ended by attributing his defeats to the impotence of his local divinities. He invoked the aid, under certain conditions, of the Christians' God, and obtained the

victory. In reading this missionary narrative, who would not carry back his thoughts to Clovis and the battle of Tolbiac? It is also interesting to follow out the traces of their old superstitions in the natives who have been converted to Christianity. An uncle of the king of Raiatonga raised an altar to Jehovah and Jesus Christ, which was soon visited by a multitude of sick persons; and as the cures were said to be almost certain, this new *Marae* met with great success. English Christianity, in all its unbending principles, was so much opposed to the general ideas of these tribes, that one of two things was necessary —either that the spirit of the Gospel should modify the routine of their habits, or that the force of their manners and customs should effect some alteration in the spirit, or at least the letter, of the Bible. It has generally been the case that both results have been produced to some extent.

The whole system of religious propagandism is much based on what is called *native agency*, that is, savages instructing savages. No sooner have the English missionaries won over one of these islanders, than they begin to make use of him in converting others. As he speaks naturally the language of the country, and of course is well acquainted with the character of the individuals of his own race, he is able to exercise over them a much more powerful influence than a foreigner could do. Some of these tawny or black-skinned agents very often lead most

adventurous lives amid these seas, so fertile in eventful travel. One of them, named Elekana, was endeavouring with eight companions to cross over from one island to another, when the sail of their vessel was blown away by a gust of wind. The unfortunate men saw the land vanishing from their sight, and at last found themselves in the midst of a waste of water, the waves of which rose every instant, as if to swallow them up. After having been exposed for eight weeks to all the brunt of the ocean, the canoe which carried them was thrown upon the reefs of an island situate about 300 or 400 miles from the place where they had reckoned to land. Elekana and three of his companions who had survived the calamity were well received by the islanders, who were idolators. In order to recompense them for their hospitality, Elekana opened a school; and after some time, having found a vessel which was sailing for Samoa, he came across to announce to the missionaries all that had taken place. He stated his want of Bibles and fellow-labourers to extend the work which he had begun. Thanks to this occurrence, the Church of England has latterly gained over three new islands in latitudes almost unknown to navigators.

One of the most wonderful things to my mind in these Protestant missions is, how, being founded, as it were, upon a book, they have first of all necessarily provided for the instruction of the savages. When the first missionaries landed in the archipelago of the

South Seas, they found there a language as uncultivated as the mountains of these virgin isles. The inhabitants were entirely ignorant of the use even of the letters of the alphabet. The small share of literature that they nowadays possess has come to them entirely from foreigners, who have reconstituted for them their language, their traditions, and their ideas, under a written form. The Bible has been translated into, and printed in, fourteen dialects in succession; but in order that it may be rendered accessible to all, they take great pains in educating schoolmasters among the aborigines. These teachers are chosen out of all classes of the population; thus, the king of the Friendly Islands filled at the same time the posts of preacher and schoolmaster. There has been, besides, a system established of Normal Schools, by the help of which the missionaries have succeeded in developing a plan of mutual instruction of the people. The London Missionary Society alone maintains in the South Seas 372 establishments, receiving 21,103 pupils. At first, a letter or written message caused the greatest astonishment among the islanders. "How can that thing speak?" they would ask; "it has no mouth." At the present time, many of the native schoolmasters are able to express their ideas in writing with the greatest freedom, in letters addressed to the missionaries. Books are constantly printed on these islands; and the composing, printing, and binding are all done by native hands.

I cannot help dreading lest the artless instincts of the dark-skinned race may be in some measure sacrificed to the religious element; and in the religious professions of those natives who have been converted to Christianity, I think the inoculation of European ideas is too evident. The dictation of a strange and unwonted routine to a youthful race is not the way to increase its energy, but rather, as I think, to doom it to a second childhood. The missionaries, however, assure us that they have done all in their power to preserve the national traditions, legends, and poetry. I wish with all my heart that this may have been the case; but still, is it not a fact that they have suppressed all the dances and games in the Pacific isles, from a dread that some of the relics of idolatry may remain hidden under these old customs? They ought to take care that they do not render the life of these peoples rather too joyless, and altogether extinguish the germs of their national individuality.

One of the most material services which the English missionaries have rendered to the Polynesian savages has been the introduction among them of certain domestic animals. The islands of the South Seas abound in natural beauties; they have been compared to verdant flower-gardens shut in by the ocean. Some, of volcanic origin, rise boldly towards the sky in groups of mountain peaks; others, formed by banks of coral and madrepores, are only raised

some few feet above the level of the sea, and only make themselves known to the voyager by the trees which grow on their surface. In all of them, however, the animal kingdom was extremely deficient; some of them were occupied by little else than serpents, vampire-bats, and rats. It is true that the latter were there in swarms. At first the missionaries could not sit down to table without having two or three persons engaged in protecting the eatables against these marauders. An Englishwoman having one night left her shoes by the side of the bed, could not find them at daylight next morning. This was unbearable; so, to make war upon these enemies, a cat was introduced into one of the islands. This animal caused the greatest terror among the inhabitants, and played them several tricks, which gave rise to stories pretty well tinged with the marvellous. Besides, what good was it to destroy all the rats without providing something else to take their place? for the fact was, that the islanders lived on them. Their flesh was considered exquisite, and "as good as a rat" was a favourite proverb among the savages to express one of the finer shades of epicurism. When the English missionaries for the first time imported two pigs into Mangaia, the natives, who had never before set eyes on anything of the sort, raised cries of astonishment. The chief put on his best clothes and all the insignia of his rank, and then sent them away to pay court to his gods. At the present day, these animals are

very common in all the islands of the archipelago; being endowed with a rapacious appetite, they have almost destroyed the rats,—affording to man their own flesh as a good exchange. The goat also, at its first introduction, had the honour of exciting much wonder among the natives; they took it for some wonderful bird, with two great teeth on its head. This *long-haired bird* has wonderfully increased and multiplied in the mountains of these islands, where nature before showed herself so niggardly in living forms. The ass and the horse, the latter nicknamed by the Polynesians "the great man-carrying pig," made their way in turn into these regions, whither they were at length followed by the larger horned cattle generally.

This good work of acclimatisation has, of course, much enriched the provision of food for the inhabitants; at first the missionaries and their families were obliged to be content with pork as their only meat. Ten years elapsed after the arrival of John Williams among the Polynesian isles before he was able to have an ox slaughtered. It was made quite a great festival; and he invited to it several of his associates, who even crossed over the sea to take a part in the banquet. But O, how great was their bewilderment when they found that not one of their party could endure either the smell or the taste of this eminently English dainty! One of the missionaries' wives went so far as to burst into tears, and

cried out, "Are we become such barbarians!" But as regards the savages of Polynesia, it was not only the nature of their food, but the whole tenor of their manners and customs, which were modified by the transition from hunting and fishing to a pastoral life.

Before the arrival of the English, the natives of Polynesia had not so much as a word in their language to represent the idea of domestic comfort. There is, however, a great change nowadays, if we are to put faith in the correspondence of the missionaries.* The low huts covered over with leaves have given place to pleasant cottages. The improvement and embellishment of the dwelling is a sure means to elevate the character of the inhabitant; and thus it is that in some of their schools they teach their pupils the first principles of the art of building. One now often meets with, under the roofs shaded by the banana-tree, not only domestic utensils, but even sofas and other articles of luxury.† European

* Every missionary keeps up a constant correspondence with his Society in London. These records are very interesting to refer to; for what travellers' stories can be compared to them? The missionaries, of course, are not all *savans;* and it often happens that they are mistaken in many things,—their observations in geology, ethnology, and natural history are often to some extent vague and inexact; but, at all events, they must be better acquainted than any one else with the mind and the manners of the population among whom they live.

† No race is altogether indifferent to comfort. John Williams was in his vessel on one occasion, when his cabin was invaded, and even his couch was beset, with a swarm of female savages.

fashions also exercise a considerable influence over the opinions of the natives. The Englishwomen teach the Polynesian girls to use the needle and to make bonnets — rather a powerful attraction for female coquetry. Some of the heathens of the softer, if not the fairer, sex are even willing to be made Christians in order to be better clad. But I think it is a question if these bonnets and dresses can add much to the charms of Malays and negresses; do they not rather turn them into mere caricatures? Every type of humanity has its own peculiar style of toilette dictated to it by nature. The woman of Polynesia, in all the wild luxuriance of savage fancy,—her head entwined with garlands of green leaves and flowers, her shoulders covered with blue pearls and red berries, and a rush-woven mat girt round her waist,—comes much nearer, I think, to the *beau idéal* of her race than if she were awkwardly disguised as a lady.

The missionaries and the savages themselves, I must say, do not look upon it in this light. In these islands the costume is the distinguishing mark of the faith, and the fashions of civilisation have a decided advantage over the others. The love of finery has at least this advantage, that it develops the inge-

They would have liked to have lain down on the soft bed; but as the missionary feared for the whiteness of his sheets if they came in contact with their oily skins, they were compelled to be content with rubbing their cheeks, one after the other, against the down pillows.

nuity of their fingers, and makes another bond of union with the foreigners; it is to the latter also that the Polynesian women owe the advantage of being able to see their own faces in a mirror, instead of looking down into a brook, as they used to do before.

The force of example, and the always increasing necessity for comfort, has taken the lead in another way in the introduction of many useful arts. The landscape, once darkened by the shade of the forest, and wild with its romantic desert beauties, has now more or less taken the character of a garden, where they cultivate the yam, the sugar-cane, cotton, and tobacco. With us, goods are bought with money; but in these youthful communities, goods—I mean, of course, the produce of the earth—are used to buy money. The government, which was formerly a debased and cruel form of despotism, has now been subjected to restraining laws; and the rights of persons and property are based, at the present day, on inviolable charters. Magistrates duly administer justice, and even the institution of trial by jury has been introduced into the South Seas. The cruel warfare between tribe and tribe, which once used to steep these isles in bloodshed, has now ceased to decimate the population; and infanticide, which had almost passed into a custom, has entirely disappeared.* The mis-

* The last pulpit which Mr. W. Ellis used for preaching the Gospel from in the Society Islands before he left Polynesia is sur-

sionaries have taken much pains to elevate the condition of the women. As the wife was generally bought when she was married, she was both the slave and the property of the man; she was also considered an object of so great impurity, that she was never allowed to cross the boundary of the court of their temples; and she was looked upon as more odious to their gods than the most unclean animals. In the Feejee Islands, the wives of their chiefs were strangled at the funerals of the latter, under the pretext that they might prove of use to their husbands in another world. By abolishing polygamy, and reconstituting the civil institutions, English Protestantism has been the means of placing family relations among the natives on a completely new basis.

But what is the course of missionary life in these countries, just emerging, as they are, from a savage state? Thanks to the natural richness of the climate, and their own industry, they generally find the means of making a pretty comfortable home of their own. Their principle is, that they do not come there to make barbarians of themselves, but to civilise the barbarous natives. And yet it is necessary at first that the missionary should have in him a

rounded with ancient war-lances. Many of their arms and war-like instruments have been converted into agricultural implements. In less than one century the Sandwich Islands have emerged from all the gloom of barbarism, and now even enjoy the benefits of a constitutional government.

little of the inventive genius of a Robinson Crusoe; and if he wishes for a more commodious and refined house than the rest, he is generally obliged to build it for himself. The natives, it is true enough, will offer him their services; but he must be the architect, and must direct their work. How astonished were the savages the first time that they saw stones burnt to make lime! By mixing red ochre with powder made from the madrepores washed up by the waves, they get a pretty salmon-colour, which gives to the walls a very pleasing aspect. If I may believe the sketches made by the missionaries themselves, which are preserved in London, some of their dwellings have no inconsiderable appearance of elegance. Their gardens are well looked after, and the banyan, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut trees which surround them spread over them all the richness of a tropical foliage. The question then is as to furnishing the interior of the house: it is not the raw material that is wanting,—rosewood and other costly products of the forest can be had for the trouble of cutting down; but the missionary should be able to use the turning-lathe, and must be a bit of a cabinet-maker, if he wishes to turn these gifts of nature to proper advantage. The greater part of them have had some little practice in manual occupations, and driven by necessity, which our neighbours call "the mother of invention," they generally manage to triumph over the preliminary obstacles.

As they are the pioneers of civilisation, the most simple processes are always the best; and they derive the first principles of their workmanship from experience much more than from books.

Their wives also are of the very greatest assistance in all that concerns domestic comfort; they exercise, both inside the house and out of it, an influence so full of sympathy and kindness that it cannot fail to contribute much to the success of English missions. Better able than the male missionaries to get acquainted with the women of the country and to visit their sick children, they are easily able to win over their hearts by the services which they render them. The savages themselves are very readily able to associate the idea of a female companionship with the work of an evangelist. When some Catholic missionaries arrived among the Polynesian islands, accompanied by their Sisters of Charity, the natives welcomed them as the wives of the priests; and this idea could never be driven out of their imaginations. Few persons, I think, could fail of admiring the devotion of these Englishwomen, who give themselves up to live far removed from all the advantages which society can afford. Almost alone, amidst men of another colour, speaking another language and habituated to strange customs, how can they reflect on their position without horror if their husbands should happen to die and leave them in these barbarous countries? They are constantly in the habit of accom-

panying the missionary in his journeys, and with the rest of his family courageously share his dangers.

Sometimes, even, reliance is placed on the weaker sex to tame down the wild instincts of the savages; but the kind of affection which they inspire in the natives has occasionally proved a source of embarrassment. The fact is, the savages get too fond of them, and the missionaries' wives have several times had to contend with that gift of pleasing which seems so peculiarly to belong to European ladies. On one occasion John Williams was in sight of the Island of Aitutaki, on board a vessel from which he was parleying with the natives, when the attention of the latter was drawn to the son of the missionary, a pretty little boy of four years old, who was on board the ship. It was the first white child that they had ever seen, and his appearance caused so much enthusiasm, that they contended who should first have the honour of rubbing noses with the youthful European.* The savages were full of pity at the lot of so delicate a being, exposed to all the violence of the tempestuous ocean; and they urgently entreated that he would think fit to give the child up to them. "What would you do with him?" they were asked by the father, rather alarmed, for he was afraid that the inhabitants of the island were cannibals. The chief replied, in the

* It is the mode of salutation which corresponds with the English shake of the hand.

name of the whole party, that they would take the greatest care of him, and that, in fact, their intention was to make him their king. This brilliant offer, however, was no great temptation to the ambition of the parents; and as the cries and gestures of the savages assumed rather a threatening character, the mother carried off the child in her arms to the interior of the cabin. The children of the missionaries who are brought up among the savages are distinguished by a peculiar turn of mind, and get the habit of thinking in the language of the country. One of them, having lost a little brother, who had died of one of the disorders so common in these unhealthy countries, said to his father, "Don't *plant* him, I entreat you; he is too pretty." To put anything in the ground, according to the native idea, was to *plant* it.

Even when the missionary does get established and comfortably settled in the house built with his own hands, he very often has hurricanes to deal with. The tempests brewing up in the vast extent of the South Seas come suddenly and break over these islands; the lightning flashes fiercely, and even sets fire to the forests covering the lofty mountains. The rush of the wind makes everything tremble, and the giants of vegetation are scattered like wisps of straw. A disaster like this fell in 1865 on the Island of Aitutaki; seven thousand cocoa-nut trees in full bearing were laid flat upon the ground

in one night; the supply of bread-fruit trees, the main source of food for the native families, was entirely destroyed; and there was not a single house nor place of worship left standing in the whole island. Besides this, an inundation of the sea, which rose about midnight to a most unusual height, swept over all the cultivated grounds. Many of the inhabitants rolled mats round their wives and children, to prevent their being torn one from the other and blown away by the violence of the squalls. Mr. Roll the missionary, and his family, took refuge behind the remains of a wall, all that was left of the best house in the island. Who cannot fancy the fearful state of consternation into which a calamity like this would plunge the poor islanders? The rising sun lighted up a horrible scene of ruin. But yet, so great was the love of these formerly savage people for those who had been the means of bringing to them the blessings of civilisation, that they wished, first of all, to build up again the house belonging to the English missionary. It was in vain that he represented to them that they themselves were the chief victims, and that they ought to look first to repairing their own misfortunes; they only persisted the more, and indeed commenced the work immediately. "Without having first done this," they naïvely assured him, "they never could have found courage to begin amending their own disasters."

Christian missionaries have many obstacles to con-

tend with; but one of their chief drawbacks at present in the South Seas is the trouble given them by men of their own colour, and professing at least the same religion. Two or three years ago some Peruvian vessels made their appearance in these waters, and carried off, either by fraud or violence, a great number of the inhabitants of some of the islands. These slavers burnt the houses, destroyed the canoes, and laid violent hands on men, women, and children, whom they carried off into slavery. In some localities they had recourse to a singular stratagem. The report was spread about that they had a missionary on board one of their vessels, and the artless islanders rushed down to the shore to see him. One of the sailors, dressed in black, was able to act the part of the sacred personage well enough to induce them to come on board, when, just as they least expected it, sail was set, and the ship went off with its prey. These men-stealers inspired such horror in the inhabitants, that for several months the appearance of a strange vessel on the coast was an object of alarm in all quarters. One of the slave-ships was at last caught by the natives of Rapa, who placed it in the hands of the French authorities at Otahiti. Measures were taken in another quarter to compel the Peruvian government to prevent these acts of spoliation; and by way of reparation they sent back 368 natives belonging to various islands. The vessel they were in was nothing but a floating prison. They had

hardly left port when the small-pox and dysentery broke out; and before they reached Rapa 344 dead bodies had been thrown into the sea. Those who survived were landed by force on the coast, in spite of the just objections of the inhabitants, who were, of course, alarmed at receiving them back in such a state. It ended, in fact, in their sowing the seeds of an epidemic which carried off a fourth of the population. Poor Rapa! she was certainly to be pitied; they carried off her children, and, in return, brought her back a pestilence.

What are the advantages which Great Britain has derived from her South Sea missions? In the first place, she has made for herself there both allies and friends. At first, one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of the Gospel was a fear, on the part of the natives, that the missionaries had a design on their territory. The black and copper-coloured races had been too much accustomed to look upon the Christian missionary as only the advanced guard of an army of invasion. England, already overdone with colonies, has acted with policy and wisdom in refraining from the annexation of any of these islands to her vast empire; and by doing this she has gained the good opinion of the island chiefs. Throughout this vast ocean desert, she can now find convenient points for the re-victualling of her fleets, and refitting stations for her whalers, as well as markets which afford a vent for the products

of her manufactories. A nation can increase its power without extending its conquests, by thus elevating foreign races to a higher stage in the scale of social life.

CHAPTER XII.

A female missionary enthusiast—William Moister—Sally the African nursemaid—Departure for Africa—General appearance of the coast—The dead man's house—Journey through the desert—Waggons drawn by oxen—Travelling incidents and impressions—A black sovereign—Results of his sneeze—Have Englishwomen any finger-nails?—Local fevers—Want of water—Opinions of the Negroes as to Christianity—Robert Moffat—Slavery and the slave-trade—A few words from Livingstone—Landing of a cargo of slaves rescued by English sailors—Opinions of the missionaries as to Negroes—The Madagascar mission—Its martyrs—Ranavahona the bloodthirsty—Radama II. and the Rev. W. Ellis—Why the present Queen of Madagascar defends and preserves her idols.

AFRICA is another part of the world to which the friendly solicitude of the English has been long directed. Some years back I was visiting Cromer, a little town in Norfolk which is daily suffering from the encroachments of the sea. A number of placards announced a missionary meeting, which I had the pleasure of attending. It took place in a small chapel, in which was erected a platform, on which a female with marked features made her appearance, leading by the hand a young negress about seven or eight years old, whose startled eye somewhat resembled that of a gazelle fresh caught in the desert. This female was, in fact, the missionary; and the discourse which she addressed to her audi-

ence, with an almost inspired air, was something as follows:

"When I was quite a young girl, my brain was full of dreams about voyages and travels; and I seemed to myself as if I were called upon to enlighten the women and children of the black race. My mind was quite unable to find rest, and this fixed idea rendered me unfit for any other occupation. I prayed to God, night and day, that He would furnish me with the means for realising the romance of my youth. Some missionaries, with whom I had made acquaintance, promised that they would send me away into some of the colonies as soon as there was any position vacant. I was still waiting, but with impatience, when a distant relative chanced to die, and left me a legacy of about 500*l*. It seemed to me to be enough for the expenses of my voyage and the full execution of my project; so I embarked in a vessel which was bound for the west coast of Africa. We were then just in the month of August, and everything in nature seemed to smile on my undertaking. Seated on a coil of rope on deck, I used to look at the waves and think that I was launched alone on the ocean of life,—yes, quite alone; but I felt full confidence in my own powers and in the protection of Heaven. There happened to be on board a minister—a Mr. C.—and his family, who were going out as emigrants to the same coast as myself, and offered to take me under their protection. After

a long and tedious voyage, we at last arrived at Sierra Leone; and Mr. C. took me to the house of a missionary resident there, who was very willing to show us hospitality. I entertained him with the account of all the good which I wished to do to the poor negroes; he smiled a little at my enthusiasm, and made known to me many an obstacle and many a danger which I had not foreseen in the path I was about to tread. After hearing what he said, I answered that God fits the shoulder to the burden, and my mind being fully made up, I, without fear, betook myself into the desert. As soon as I was able to speak the language of the country a little, I opened a school;—it was a little wooden house, and I laid down some mats on the ground for the children to sit on, instead of benches. My first lesson consisted in a distribution of glass beads, and some other little trifles, of which I taught the children the names and the uses; it was amusing to see them dance about and array themselves in my presents with all kinds of cries and savage gestures. My school prospered, and I soon had from twenty to thirty pupils blacker than any crows. My time was passing away very happily, for I felt conscious of being useful, when I made the acquaintance of a native family who had been converted to our religion. The wife, who was beautiful for a negress, fell ill, and finally died in my arms, recommending in her last words her child to my care. That child

is the young girl whom you now have before you. The father, however, would not give his consent to my taking her away from his hut; and he sent for another woman to take charge of her; but one day he returned from the forest with a wound in his leg, and was carried off some days after by a bad fever. I now called to mind the promise which I had made to the child's mother; and seeing that the poor little thing was ill-treated, I made up my mind to take her away from her nurse, who was a heathen. It then became quite necessary for me to go away, and to hide during the day-time, travelling on foot through the wilderness by night; for my carrying off the child had excited the anger of the blacks. In this way I reached the nearest village, where I fell ill with fatigue. In the mean time a war broke out among the tribes; the houses were burned down, and we were all compelled to seek safety in flight. At night I was obliged to lie down in a thicket, where I was exposed to the attacks of wild beasts and the inclemency of the weather. I had named the child Zelika, and she always called me mother; the idea that I had brought her up as a Christian, and that I had thus fulfilled a duty which was cast upon me, kept up my courage amid all these trials. At last I managed to reach a missionary station or establishment; and by the interposition of the Society, I obtained the means of returning to England. Many of my fond hopes

had been destroyed by time. I had won from idolatry but a very slender trophy; and yet I am again ready to make my way to those sun-scorched lands, if God will only grant me the opportunity."

From the vehemence of her ideas it was easy to perceive that this female missionary belonged to rather an eccentric genus. In the ordinary way, though, things are managed in a much more simple manner. A young man has been educated by one of the Dissenting denominations; it may happen that he has shown some inclination for preaching the Gospel. In all the ardour of youth, the *mirage* of distant countries, and the rich harvests which faith may there gather in, pass through his brain like a vision of the Apocalypse. He makes known his feelings before a religious meeting in the district to which he belongs; and he is sent to London to be examined by a committee of missionaries. He pursues his studies there for one or two years, in one of the institutions maintained by the denomination to which he belongs. A very trivial circumstance will sometimes decide to what part of the world his destiny shall lead him.

Mr. William Moister, one of the most remarkable among the Wesleyan missionaries, was thus waiting for his destination to be fixed, when, in 1830, on a cold morning in October, a young black girl presented herself at the door of the old Mission House in Hatton Garden. She carried in her arms

a white child of an unhealthy appearance; it was the child of the Rev. Richard Marshall, who had died, that very year, of malignant fever, near the River Gambia, in West Africa. Two days after the funeral, his wife embarked for England, taking with her her young child and an African girl named Sally, who was to take care of the little boy during the passage. On her arrival at Bristol, Mrs. Marshall found all her strength exhausted, and expired forty-eight hours after reaching her native shores. It was, therefore, a poor little orphan which the faithful negress came to bring to the Mission House: her love for the child seemed extreme, and hugging it in her black arms and bathing it with her tears, she talked enthusiastically about her country. This touching scene moved to tears some of the young candidates for the mission-work. It now became necessary to appoint a successor to Mr. Marshall at the station of the Gambia; but, in consequence of the dreadful mortality which for some time past had struck down, one after the other, so many of the evangelists all along the west coast of Africa, the Committee had determined, for the future, only to send those who voluntarily offered their services. This incident determined the vocation of Mr. Moister. This district was the most unhealthy and the most dangerous that he could choose, but nevertheless it was thither that he determined to go.

The place of his destination being fixed, the

young missionary receives his directions, and then generally gets married to some female, determined, like himself, to brave all the dangers and fatigues of a wandering life. Nothing now remains but to bid farewell to his family and his friends, and to get ready for his long voyage. Accompanied by her who is to share all his struggles, he sets sail in one of the Society's vessels. What greets them on their arrival? To answer this question, let us group together some of the details taken from their correspondence. First, the coast of Africa appears in all its savage magnificence; the natives, who have heard beforehand of the arrival of the new missionary, throw themselves into the water and swim round the boat which brings him to the shore. At the first glance everything seems grand to him, and everything is new; nothing that he sees bears any resemblance to the scenery he has left behind in pale England. Cocoa-nut trees swaying about in the breeze; majestic palm-trees; crowds of blacks—men, women, and half-clothed children; a dozen tongues at once jabbering their strange accents in his ears, not one word of which is intelligible to him,—such is the strange and yet exciting scene which meets him on his arrival.

He is now conducted to his new residence, perhaps several miles away up the country; it is a house protected by a verandah against the scorching rays of the sun, and standing detached in the midst of

a collection of huts. This is from henceforth his home; and outside it has far from an unpleasant appearance. They enter the court-yard; and at the foot of the stone steps leading into the ground-floor, a beautiful wild-flower, a sort of exotic jasmine, meets their eyes. "O, this is a good omen!" cries the missionary's wife; "this flower is here to bid us welcome." But still it is the absence of man which has enabled this little flower to grow on the door-step of the deserted house. The whole of the interior is pervaded with an aspect of mourning and terror; this house is the house of a dead man, and it remains in exactly the same state in which it was left after the last sigh of the last occupier. The young household learn, from the silence of the place, the fate which they may themselves meet with, some day or other, in this fatal climate. The walls are re-plastered, the floors are cleaned, the windows are opened to let the life-giving air of nature blow into this tomb-like dwelling.

Having first provided for the immediate requirements of his domestic arrangements, the missionary sets joyfully to work. His labours consist in the superintendence of the school, at which about a hundred black children attend every day, and in preaching the word of God. Before long, however, these humble duties do not seem sufficient for his zeal; he feels it necessary to extend the field of his mission, and to get at some of the neighbouring tribes, who

live some way in the interior of the country. Will he take his wife with him, or will he leave her all alone, surrounded as she is by blacks? More commonly she accompanies him in his journeyings.

Travelling in West Africa is, to tell the truth, no such trifling matter. The best roads are mere paths through the forest and wilderness, through which the travellers advance in single file, each carrying a gun or a cutlass to defend themselves against wild beasts. Saddle-horses are sometimes used; but in some districts these animals cannot exist very long, either from the quality of the grass, or from the effects of the climate; the camel itself, though it may be said to be a denizen of the country, is not able, in the west, to stand against forced marches. Thus, the more general custom is to go through the desert in waggons drawn by oxen.

These waggons are made long and narrow, and mounted on two pairs of wheels, and are, besides, covered with a large tilt resembling a tent, to protect the travellers against sun or rain. There are two immense chests, one of which serves as a seat for the driver, and the other, placed behind the waggon, is used to hold the provisions for food. Under the vehicle is hung a kind of basket, in which they put the cooking utensils, as well as the tools which are intended to repair any accidents which may happen on the road. The interior of this moving house is divided into two compartments, in one of which the

missionary and his companion stay in the daytime, sleeping in the other at night. The wife naturally superintends all the domestic arrangements; and if she have anything at all of a skilful hand, she confers on this nomadic household a degree of order and comfort which might be envied by many a family in a fixed habitation. In the daytime she may be seen comfortably seated, working at her needle; whilst her husband superintends the men and the cattle, or, if all goes well, quietly gives himself up to reading.

The heavy waggon is drawn by a team of oxen, which varies in number from twelve to eighteen, according to the circumstances of the journey; these animals are almost always of the same colour and very like one another, and form a group fraught with energy and vigour. Three men are necessary to manage a waggon,—the driver, conductor, and a helper who takes care of the beasts intended for food. When all the preparations for departure are concluded, the driver, seated on his box, cracks his immense whip, and the ponderous machine goes jolting along the rough and scarcely marked-out roads. They proceed at the average rate of about three miles an hour through grand and picturesque but rather gloomy scenery; for Africa is, in some parts, a disagreeable country, and appears as if dried up by the sun. After three or four hours' travelling it is necessary to halt and unharness the panting bullocks; some oasis in the wilderness is chosen for this purpose. The con-

ductor then gives the word to the men, and the vehicle stops; the beasts, freed from the yoke, immediately make their way to the brook or pool, where they drink plentifully, and afterwards to the natural pasture lying round, where they crop the fresh grass. During all this time the men have collected pieces of dry wood and lighted a fire; and the kettle, which plays so important a part in English domestic life, is suspended to a sort of tripod and commences its cheerful song. The cloth is laid on the grass or on the smooth surface of a rock; and, all preparations ended, each stands hat in hand while the missionary calls down the blessing of Heaven on their frugal meal. The men taking their tea, the sheep and goats lying about, the oxen browsing,—all this constitutes a curious and pleasing scene.

After a rest of one or two hours they continue their journey till nightfall; and they spend the evening round their bivouac fire, in singing hymns, talking, and praying. They all go to rest in good time; it not unfrequently happens that a storm may rage in the night, but their waggon-house is firmly closed up, and the serving-men, having taken the precaution of stretching the canvas of the tent down over the waggon-wheels, can sleep quietly under the vehicle, quite protected from the rain. The next day at daybreak the oxen are driven together; and after a modest breakfast they again take their way amid the solitudes.

As a journey like this often lasts for months, it can be easily understood what preparations and provisions are requisite for it. Sometimes they happen in the course of their journey to kill an antelope, and thus, from the chance acquisitions of the chase, some little additions are made to the general stock of eatables. The greater part of the animals which they meet with are not, however, of any important assistance to them; they see flocks of ostriches running by beating their wings, or troops of jackals which howl all night in the thickets. They must not always expect to find level ground for their waggon to travel on; every now and then they have to climb steep hills, or to get through dangerous passes, between rough and pointed rocks; everyone then gets out and proceeds on foot, only too happy if the pole or something else does not give way amid the rough shocks which are given to the ponderous machine. Sometimes rivers suddenly bar their path; they are then obliged either to find out fords through the course of it, or to construct timber rafts to be pushed over by bold swimmers to the other bank of the river. After some time too it is most necessary that they should think about making bread and washing their linen; these things naturally fall to the women's share, and they take advantage of a fine day and of meeting with some clear rivulet at the foot of a hill; but in Africa the brightest days are often interrupted by storms. The thunder suddenly rolls, followed by

a deluge of hail and rain, which forces those who are at work to take refuge in their waggon. An hour afterwards, perhaps, the sun shines again; but the fire is put out, and the dough is soaked with the water from above, and it is necessary to begin the domestic preparations all over again.

It often happens that they pass near some village, or at least a collection of huts; what a capital opportunity this is for a sermon, especially if it is a Sunday! With the help of the waggon and the tent, an open-air church is soon improvised, in which are ranged men, women, and children; a young black shepherd happens to pass just at the moment with his flock of goats, and he is invited to stop there for a time, and to take a part in the divine service.

After many an obstacle the missionary at last arrives at his journey's end,—the territory of the tribe with whom he wishes to contract relations of friendship. Some armed men rush suddenly from behind a thicket, and conduct him to the presence of the king; there he needs all his eloquence and diplomacy to plead successfully the cause of the Gospel. I must, however, mention how much he is helped by his wife, who is usually very sensible of the honour of an interview with a sovereign, even though he be a black one. She offers to his savage majesty a cup of coffee prepared with her own fair hands. As English ladies always wear gloves, even in the desert, the shape of their fingers is very often a subject of

astonishment to the royal savage, and he asks how it is that white women have no finger-nails. The missionary then proposes to address the people, and if his request be granted, a meeting is at once organised for the occasion. The king himself makes his appearance in a car drawn by two hundred soldiers, and having been taken under a tree, receives the homage of his subjects. Everyone sits down on the grass, and it is then the missionary's part to deliver a discourse to his audience; in general he is listened to with much attention, only that every time the king sneezes, they turn to him and compliment him.

More or less content with these first beginnings, the missionary takes leave of the friendly tribe, and returns to his camp. The latter part of the journey is often the most wearisome; the oxen are tired out, and often fall, one after the other, and are not able to get up again. If the missionary and his wife have not yet been seasoned by an attack of the local fever, how very much are they now exposed to catch this disorder in these low-lying and scorching regions! To guard against such casualties as these, they carry medicines with them; but yet the waggon, which set off so cheerfully, is very often at its return little better than a travelling infirmary.

But yet this sort of life must have its charms, for the missionaries' wives often speak of it with pleasure in their letters:—"here," they say, "nature supplies the place of so much;"—their dining-room

is sometimes formed by a grove of orange-trees, under the shade of which stands a rough wooden table surrounded with some seats. The great vexation in Africa is the want of water; and so the rain is greeted by the children with the most flattering epithets;—they call it "good," "lovely," "kind," &c., and a crowd of negro children run out with vessels of all shapes to catch it in. The water-filter stands inside the house, and is guarded by the missionary's wife almost like something sacred; it is her duty to keep it filled with water, and see that no one empties it carelessly. The gardens, where they have a well to use and industrious arms to apply the water, look like islands of fruit and flowers in an ocean of sterility.

English missionaries in no way partake of the American idea as to the absolute inferiority of the negroes; on the contrary, they all bear witness to the good qualities of the Ethiopian race; and when sometimes they are forced to blush, it is for the bad conduct of the white men, who traverse the country in pursuit of ivory and ostrich-feathers, who give the very worst examples to the black population. The coloured children in the schools show also a certain amount of facility in the acquirement of knowledge.*

* Three negro youths who had been saved from slavery were lately brought to England by Mr. Rigby, formerly Consul at Zanzibar, and were placed in various institutions, where they were distinguished by their attainments: one of them was always

Among the men who have done the most for the education of the black race, I must mention especially the venerable Robert Moffat, father-in-law of Livingstone, the great traveller, and also himself an able missionary. Upright and firm as a palm-tree in the desert, notwithstanding his great age; all alone, the only foreigner in the midst of an almost barbarous country, he himself superintends a field of apostolic labour, in which he is much assisted, especially in the schools, by his daughter Jane. The great objection made by those of the negro idolators who are unwilling to be converted to Christianity, is "that the religion of the white man is made for the white man, and the religion of the black man for the blacks." There may very probably be a basis of physiological truth in this artless reasoning. Thus, some missionaries of rather narrow views seek with might and main to instil unintelligible dogmas into the black race; others, however, who are more enlightened, are contented with endeavouring to implant in their minds the generous features of universal morality.*

at the head of his class. We are, though, assured that at about the age of fourteen a critical epoch occurs in the faculties of the negro. I think the truth is, that our European methods are not always adapted to the peculiar development of his intellect.

* Dr. Colenso, at a meeting of the Geographical Society in London, declared that at least two centuries must elapse before the Zulus would be able to comprehend the theological subtleties of the Athanasian Creed. "And it is a good thing," he added; "for between this and then, the Church of England will have had time to modify some of her doctrines."

For many years the English missionaries had much more reason to complain of their own countrymen, the slaveholders, than of the negro idolators. With regard to the former, they found to their sorrow that their reign was put an end to in 1838; but in fact, slavery is yet very far from being really abolished on the coast of Africa. And how can it be abolished, when in the interior of this unfortunate country, where the history of the black race is written in characters of blood, chiefs sell their subjects, fathers sell their children, and friends sell friends? This trade in human flesh and blood is chiefly carried on by the Arabs, and the slave, bartered about from hand to hand, gets to be considered among these traders as a sort of current money. It not unfrequently happens that vessels engaged in the slave-trade are captured on the eastern coast, after furious engagements between the Arabs and the English sailors. The missionaries and their wives are usually present at the heart-rending scene of the disembarking of the slaves; the sailors first bring on shore the little children of from three to six years old, and lay them on the sand with rough jokes, patting them on the head like so many little black lambs; then come the young girls, some of whom have perhaps been wounded in the fight, the mothers with their nurslings, and at last the men, full of wonder that they should excite so much interest. A cargo of 350 negroes are sometimes crammed into a small confined vessel, in which all the food they get

is a handful of boiled rice every day. The Arabs calculate, that on account of the dreadful mortality which usually prevails on board, only one negro in three will reach the destined port; but even this small proportion will nevertheless yield them a large pecuniary profit.

The English missionaries are now reckoning much on the abolition of slavery in the Southern States of America, the result of the late war, under the idea that it will put a complete end to this odious traffic. At all events, the efforts which they have made in Africa, with the view of mitigating the horrors of this system, ought to insure for both these men and their country the hearty thanks of the Ethiopian race. In 1865, at the meeting of the London Missionary Society, Dr. Livingstone related, that when the *public whip* (for there really is such an institution) was hard at work in the interior of the country, some of the unfortunate negroes who were being flogged cried out even under the lash: "O for the English! when will the English come?"

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the attention of England was drawn to Madagascar; the twenty-two states into which the island was divided had just fallen into the power of the Hovas, a vigorous and warlike race. In 1820, some men were sent out by a missionary society in London, who, though having received a liberal education, possessed some knowledge of the mechanical arts; they were kindly

received by the king, Radama I., who was too much of a god himself to yield up very readily his position to another deity,* but still was quite inclined to give countenance to the schools established by the strangers. In 1828 Radama died; the legitimate heir to the crown was his son Rakotobe, a disciple of the missionaries, of whom they had the very best hopes, but in their plans they had not reckoned on the ambition of a woman. Ranavalona, one of the twelve sultanas of the late king, swore that she would obtain possession of the sceptre; she caused Rakotobe to be assassinated, and set up a reign of terror against the Christians. "The bowels of the earth shall be dug up," she cried, "and the lakes shall be dredged with nets, before one single Christian shall escape the justice of the country." In fact she re-inaugurated an era of sanguinary persecution, and added to the long series of martyrs for the faith. The native Christians compared her to a black tigress, with but one white spot; this white spot was maternal affection; she loved her son Rakoto-Radama, a young man of seventeen, who had secretly attended the religious assemblies of the Christian neophytes.

* During a storm, he amused himself by firing off his cannon; and when the English Consul asked the reason for his making such a noise, "God up above," replied the king, "is speaking by means of thunder, and I by my cannon: we are answering one another."

After a reign marked by persecutions and punishments, Ranavalona died in 1861. Rakoto had a rival who disputed with him the right to the throne; he caused the latter to be shut up in a fortress, and was proclaimed king under the title of Radama II. The new sovereign recalled the English missionaries, who had been driven away from the island by the persecutions; they soon returned, and one of their number, the Rev. William Ellis, became the Mentor to this black Telemachus. The exiled Christians also returned; the Bibles, which had been buried, again made their appearance out of the dust of the wilderness, and those who had been persecuted showed with pride the marks of the fetters that they had worn in the last reign. The character and conduct of the young king did not, however, at all answer to the opinion which the missionaries had formed of him, and after rather a short reign, he was deposed from the throne and put to death.

At the present time the Christian religion is tolerated in Madagascar, although the government itself is an idolatrous one. Mr. Pakenham, the English consul, has lately negotiated a treaty, by virtue of which, both his fellow-countrymen, and the native Christians, have a right to enjoy religious liberty. This promising state of things has reanimated the zeal of the Protestant missions, which now gain ground day by day; but they have considerable obstacles to overcome in the political constitution of

the country. The present Queen of Madagascar believes that her prerogatives depend on the maintenance of the old customs; the idols consecrate her power.

CHAPTER XIII.

China opened to the English missionaries—How little we must believe in the intolerance of the Chinese—A mandarin's eulogium on the Gospel—Have the Chinese any religion?—The small value they set upon their gods—Why they will not change them—Material prosperity of idolatry—Has it, on this account, more enduring vitality?—Plan of action necessary to convince the Chinese—Why they preserve their religion without believing it—Effects of the appearance of Christianity in India—Colenso and the Hindoo controversialists—Decline of idolatry—A god at the bottom of a well—Influence of education on the decline of the national religion—Associations of free-thinkers—Various prophecies announce a change of religion—Obstacles to the spread of Christianity—The system of caste—Answers of the Hindoos to the Christian missionaries—Hindoo plans to appease a restless soul—Itinerant missionaries—Women of India, and their so-called seclusion—Mrs. Cooper—Stationary missionaries—Mr. Joseph Higgins—A merry Christmas in the Budwail Valley—New system of universal writing—Services to civilisation rendered by missionaries.

We have hitherto seen the moral influence of England engaged in a struggle with ignorant and artless races, compelled to acknowledge in Christianity all the features of a higher class of religion: the case is not at all the same when the missionaries have to deal with nations already possessing, not only a system of philosophy and divinity, but also sacred books. Those peoples which had only gods of wood,

gave them up without much resistance into the hands of their foreign instructors; but how much more stubbornly do men defend spiritual idols! This is exactly what has taken place in the Celestial Empire.

The English missions, to which, since 1807, a path has been opened out in China by the learned studies of Dr. Morrison, began their labours in 1845, when an imperial decree declared that the Christian religion was to be tolerated in the Celestial Empire. The field for proselytism was still very much limited by the laws of the country. For some time the insurrection which threatened the government was reckoned on as likely to throw down certain barriers, and to favour to some extent the views of the propagators of the Bible. It seemed, in fact, as if a certain spiritualist element animated the fury of these new sectarians. They were soon, however, compelled to forego these illusions; the capture of Nankin terminated the war between the imperialists and the insurgents, without the latter being in any way attracted to Christianity. The return of many thousands of fugitives to their homes, the resumption of all their industrial labours, in fine, all the advantages of peace, constituted a state of things very propitious for the work of Protestant missions. The treaty, too, that was concluded by Lord Elgin, guaranteed to the missionaries all the protection that the authority of the chief of the state was able to afford them. Upon this the various London societies

organised a system of *colportage* of the Bible, and of itinerant preaching.

These Gospel-bearing travellers made their way alone, or almost alone, into the midst of an unexplored country, flourishing towns, and markets, to which flowed all the productions of commerce. Others established themselves in the large cities, where they opened hospitals and schools. At Nankin, for instance, they hope to gain over the souls of the Chinese by healing the maladies of their bodies. The female school presents, during the fine season of the year, one of the most agreeable of scenes: each of the proselytes wears an aster in the knot of black hair which crowns the top of their heads, and pots of the same flower ornament the whole room. Who then can talk of the intolerance of the Chinese? Evidently this is not the rock that they will split on; at the present time the English missionaries find friends even among the mandarins. One of the latter, induced merely by a letter of recommendation, had a table covered with a piece of red cloth placed in his courtyard, and himself presented the Christian orator to a numerous audience, telling them that this stranger had come from afar to talk to them about his religion, and that he had invited him to address them. But notwithstanding all this, was this man any the more disposed to abandon the religion of his country? No, indeed. Christianity meets with something of the same kind of opposition from the

educated Chinese, that Jesus experienced from the pharisees, scribes, and priests in Judæa; they win over but few proselytes, except among the lower classes; whilst the disciples of Confucius, the magistrates and the scholars, receive them with the cold disdain of scepticism, or with a bantering approbation. "Very good doctrine," cried a mandarin, who had just heard the missionaries read to the people some pages of the Gospel; "truly excellent doctrine, exactly like that in our books!"

The Celestial Empire presents the wonderful spectacle of a more or less atheistic people in the midst of a multiplicity of gods. Have the Chinese any religion at all?* Those who have lived any time in the country are very doubtful about it. At first sight their public worship seems to be one of the numerous forms of idolatry; but much they care for their idols! They hold these poor gods so cheaply, that occasionally they have been sold by the priest together with the temple they abode in.† The wor-

* Near Bristol, at a charming place called Honeywood, lives the Englishman who is best acquainted with China. Sir John Francis Davis was Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain in the Celestial Empire, and Governor of the colony at Hong Kong. He has written one of the best books which there is about this country; and yet, when I asked the baronet one day if the Chinese believed in the existence of a God, he was perplexed in answering me.

† At Nankin, the new missionary hospital consists of a former temple, which was made over to them, images and all, by the Buddhist priest for a sum of money.

ship of their ancestors, and the genii of the earth, exercises, it is true, a more influential empire over their consciences, and groves of funereal trees consecrate the memory of their dead. But the obstacles to the progress of Christianity do not lie in this direction. These obstacles must be sought for in what Lamennais called, among us, indifferentism in the matter of religion. The Chinese certainly care but little for their divinities; but they care still less for changing their religious books for the Gospel. "Our religion may very likely be false," they reply to the missionaries' persuasions; "but at any rate, it is a custom of our country, and can be traced back to a remote antiquity. Our idols may be, as you say, mere fabrications of wood and clay, and our gods may be the phantoms of the dead; but after all, what does it matter? In religion, objective existence is of no great consequence, the subjective mode is the great thing. Why should we abandon the fictions of our country, trifling as they may be, for these foreign myths? Blot out from your books the name of Jesus, or at least his title as *Son of God*, and then we will read them." In fact, the educated Chinese are in the habit of seeking for their weapons from moral philosophy rather than from external and exploded ceremonies, when they wish to combat the dogmas of young Europe. But yet, let them not deceive themselves, their national worship has lost nothing of its old material splendour. What

a mean figure the poor Methodist missionary makes amid the marble temples full of gilded images, the rich monasteries, and the official priestly residences of China! All this is certainly no guarantee at all of stability, and Roman paganism had never been so rich as just at the eve of its fall.

If we may trust the opinion of the English missionaries, the whole religious edifice of the Chinese is threatened with the same fate; it is cracking on all sides, and we are verging upon a change, the results of which will extend over a third part of Asia. The opportunity is certainly a favourable one, and one can well understand the zealous efforts which our neighbours are bringing to bear in this new crusade of thought. Looking at their commerce and their diplomacy, without mentioning more noble motives, the English, above all others, must have the highest interest in implanting Christianity on the ruins of the Mongolian idolatry; but how great are the difficulties in the way! The number of reapers is indeed few, though the harvest is so great. Can a handful of men, scarcely able to speak the language of the country, hope to triumph over the obstinacy and disdain of a race infatuated with their own merits? Some enlightened missionaries acknowledge this themselves; and they feel that to the philosophy of the Chinese it is necessary that philosophy should be opposed, to their literature some of the best specimens of our own, and to their pretended learning a

more profound and more exact science. In order that this should be the case, it would be necessary that men of talent should immediately proceed to China, and that during a residence of ten years there, they should take every pains to acquire a competent knowledge of the language, and that they should then write treatises capable of convincing the educated classes of the country. But where are we to find these young scholars?

In the absence of such agents as these, they endeavour to win over, among the natives, those who have succeeded in passing the examinations which bring with them in China both honour and social distinction. The missionaries have attained their point with certain masters of arts, restless spirits, who have in their time played all kinds of parts, such as soothsayers, astrologers, and charlatans. As they are acquainted with the books of Confucius, they are better able than some of their countrymen to confute the arguments of his disciples. Can they, though, entertain a hope that, with such materials as these, they will obtain any influence on a community of three hundred and ninety-six millions of souls?

Is this nation, however, altogether wrong from its own point of view in rejecting the cup that is offered to it as a cure for all its evils? When I was visiting the museum of the London Missionary Society, I noticed a bottle of a curious shape, with a

label attached to it, on which I read these words from the Gospel, which were written on it: "No man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine doth burst the bottles, and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be marred." This piece of advice appeared to me to be directly addressed to the Mongolian race, and I was scarcely astonished that they had followed it by instinct, as it were, though quite ignorant of the letter of the Book. Because the influx of these new ideas would dissolve all their old social forms, China, with no other fanaticism than that of her own conservatism, and without faith in her gods, resists with all her force the invasion of Christian doctrines. If she were to accept the Gospel, she must change her manners, her institutions, and her usages—a long and painful labour, which ended in breaking up the Roman Empire. China, therefore, better loves to slumber on, wrapped up in her antiquity, and in the effeminate and apathetic fascination of her polytheistic fancies, as in a dream excited by the fumes of opium.

India, too, is another Asiatic nation which England has an interest quite peculiar to herself in wishing to convert. Queen Victoria reckons more Mahometan subjects than pay allegiance to the Grand Turk, and she has more idolators under her sway than any sovereign on earth, no matter who, if we except the Emperor of China. Our neighbours are very well aware that no one has really conquered a

people until they have vanquished their gods; the operations, therefore, of Protestant missions in India commenced with the present century.

The appearance of Christianity had the effect at first of reanimating the zeal of the Hindoos for their own religion; the richest and best-educated amongst them joined together in publishing some of their ancient religious works, which had never before been printed, and the manuscripts of which were as rare as they were costly. These poetical annals, containing the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of their worship, appeared in monthly parts, and met with subscribers in every town. As they wished to forbid these books to the curiosity of the missionaries, it was recommended to the Hindoos not to make them known to any one belonging to another religion. Fearing that these records of the national faith might not form a sufficient rampart against foreign ideas, they founded both newspapers and magazines, edited by natives, at Bombay and Poonah. All the Hindoo sects took part in this movement; the Parsees, or fire-worshippers, who held a high rank in the country, owing to their intelligence and their enterprising spirit, defended the system of Zoroaster in a monthly miscellany, and published the *Zend-Avesta*, with a commentary and notes in English.

The religion of the Hindoos has now just arrived at that position in which paganism found itself when the school of Alexandria appeared; it is seeking to

purify itself and its dogmas, to go back to its sources, and to re-invigorate its powers by discussion. It is not content with merely defending itself, but it also attacks its enemies; the Indian controversialists avail themselves of the works of Voltaire and other philosophers of the eighteenth century, as means for repulsing the doctrines of Revelation. There is scarcely a work of historical or religious exegesis published either in France or England that does not find its echo far across the seas, in the depths of Hindostan. The name of Bishop Colenso is just as well known in the bazaars of Benares as in the schools at Oxford. The English missionary thinks that he will have to contend with Buddha only, but every day he finds himself opposed by the *Essays and Reviews*, Michelet's *Bible*, and Renan's *Vie de Jésus*.

As for commonplace idolatry, it loses ground every day. In vain are the walls of certain towns, whose names recall some of the divinities of the Hindoo pantheon, decorated from house to house with the legends of the Brahminical mythology painted on wood; all this pomp and sacred phantasmagoria conceal but poorly the decline of their faith. Their temples are falling into ruin, and no one cares to build them up again. A missionary came back into an idolatrous district to preach the Gospel, and in going through a village he met a man who stopped him, and said, "Have you heard what has happened to Runga Saorma, the great god of our locality?"

"What is the matter with him?" asked the Englishman. "Some thieves have got into his temple and torn him down from his pedestal, and have thrown him into the bottom of a well. Formerly, an occurrence like this would have caused great excitement; we should have been compelled to raise among us a large sum of money to get him out of the well, and to have him reconsecrated by the hands of the priests, and to replace him on his altar." "And are you not going to do all this now?" "No; we have all come to the conclusion, that as he was not able to save himself, he would hardly be able to do much in the way of saving others."

Such is the tone of religious feeling even in the country; but it is in the great centres of population that the old Hindoo worship especially appears to be tottering to its fall. As one among the causes that have brought about this decadency, we must name the education afforded in the schools established by the English Government. In these schools they strictly respect the liberty of conscience of the natives, but at the same time they teach them the elements of all secular acquirements. According to the Hindoo system, every thing is connected with a divine principle; and the Brahmins were in the habit of assuring their disciples that no fact existed either in geography, astronomy, or indeed any other science, which had not been revealed in their sacred books. Religions, like governments, perish through

absolutism; and when the English schools were opened, and the dogmas of the Vedas were brought face to face with Western science, the Brahmins could no longer maintain the parallel, and immediately lost all authority over the youthful intellect. The study of the laws of nature vanquished the gods, in the very cradle of polytheism.

But Christians must not be too precipitate in rejoicing at this triumph; for the breaking up of the colossal edifice of Hindoo superstition seems but little likely to result in much profit to their own faith. Under various names, such as Brahmo-sijah, Brahmo-somaj, and Veda-somajam, a new sect has lately arisen, which stands aloof from all revelations, true or false. The members of these Indian fraternities agree with each other in one point only—the belief in a Supreme Being. Opposed as they are both to Christianity and to the religion of the Hindoos, and finding, or thinking that they find, in the Bible, as well as in the Vedas, passages which are inconsistent with science, they determined, as they themselves say, to cut the cable which connects the minds of other men with supernatural authority. These disciples of rationalism are also distinguished by a liberal spirit of toleration, and they mutually engage to respect every opinion. They sometimes have to observe various customary ceremonies, as, for instance, in marriages and burials; but they only do this to avoid wounding the feelings of the community in

which they live. With the exception of these trifling sacrifices to existing prejudices, their course of action indicates the greatest freedom of thought; they openly declare, that in all forms of religion which go beyond pure Deism, they can recognise nothing but the lifeless relics of worn-out superstitions. Associations such as these, surrounded by all the *éclat* which intellect and wealth can give, cannot fail to exercise a powerful influence over the educated youth of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. Thus, a generation of thinkers is being formed who astonish the English missionaries by the boldness and comprehensiveness of their philosophical opinions. When they speak at public meetings, the high moral tone which they assume defies the censure of the very Christians themselves; without making any distinction of race or country, they quote, in support of their ideas, all those authors, travellers, and *savans*, who have, as it were, brought together the uttermost parts of the earth, and smoothed the way for the unity of the human race.

Out of the hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants who people India, it is calculated that about one hundred and twelve thousand have been converted to Christianity. This is but a scanty sheaf from a harvest so abundant, and yet the missionaries have never been so full of hope. Do not the Shasters, one of the sacred books, announce a twelfth incarnation of Vishnu? Judging from the inter-

pretations of the Brahmins themselves, we are on the eve of some great event, which will modify the religion of India; everyone foresees this change, and the Christians are waiting for it; but the question is, will it answer to the idea which the English missionaries have formed of it? It will be sufficient here to point out some of the obstacles which oppose the progress of the Gospel in India; and first of all, the system of caste.

The religion of the Hindoos, agreeably to the usages of the country, aims at basing the principle of all social distinctions on the sacred class alone. The case is quite different with Christianity, which proclaims, at least in principle, that all men are equal before God. Thus it is that the missionaries recruit most of their partisans out of the inferior castes, and especially out of that of the Pariahs; the other Hindoos fear that, by changing their religion, they will lose the honour and consideration which appertains to their family. Another thing is, that in India the missionaries have not to deal with mere vague and absurd legends and a shapeless theogony, as in the South Seas; the Hindoos, on the contrary, can oppose them with their traditions, their literary records, and their poetry of lofty inspiration. It is a conflict of books—the Bible against the Vedas and the Koran. The Mahometans, who are very numerous in India, maintain that the Old and New Testaments were already existing in the time of the Prophet, and that

Mahomet has acknowledged a portion of them to be the Word of God, and that his followers have no reason for going farther than he did, as regards belief in the Scriptures.

One of the greatest arguments that can be used to savages in favour of Christianity is the superiority of English civilisation. "Our ancestors," the English tell them, "were barbarous themselves; but missionaries visited their island, and brought to them a Book which entirely changed the state of things." This mode of reasoning succeeds but little with the Chinese and Hindoos, who, after all, enjoy the benefits of a social system flourishing in many respects; though differing much from our own. "What was your God about," they say contemptuously to the English missionaries, "all the time that your ancestors were worshipping the trees of the forest?"

On the other hand, we must not forget that the Indian empire, being, as it were, a conquered province of Great Britain, the natives are led to look upon the Christian religion as one of the signs of conquest. Some years ago, at the conclusion of the mutiny which broke out in the Bengal army, the missionary societies of London, who attributed this conflict to the influence of the prevailing tone of thought, made fresh pecuniary sacrifices for the purpose of consolidating the Christian faith in India. In such a case as this, they naturally sought to make use of Indian converts, whose education and social rank would in-

spire respect among the natives, without exciting those prejudices which are too often associated with the feeling of a foreign supremacy.

It is perhaps but little known in Europe that the restlessness of uncertainty, looked upon as a sign of an epoch of transition, is a disease which is not at all peculiar to our own continent and communities. This moral contagion exists in India, where we may find Werthers and Renés of the dark-skinned race. One of this class, impelled by vague aspirations, had roamed through every sect and every school in his search for enlightenment. That which he now longed for was rest for his soul; but how far he was from obtaining it! To quiet the perturbation of his mind, an Indian priest whispered into his ear some cabalistic monosyllables; this remedy, as may well be supposed, failed in producing the wished-for effect. An ascetic then endeavoured to persuade him that these words were not the right ones, and that if he wished to allay the anguish of his heart, it was another formula that he must repeat. Three years passed away in these exercises before he knew and embraced Christianity, in which faith, if we are to believe the missionaries, he at last found inward peace.

These conversions, though, are rare among the educated class. Are we on this account to consider that the mission-work has been altogether unfruitful? No indeed. The reflexion of Christian ideas has developed in the Asiatic character the features of a

more elevated morality, and has compelled the man who has renounced his gods to seek out a religion in his own conscience. By investigating the sacred annals of India it has also been discovered that idolatry was a mere innovation in that country, and that monotheism, on the contrary, was the ancient faith.*

English missionaries in India may be divided into two classes—the itinerant, and the resident. The former visit the towns and country districts of the peninsula. Mixed up with the people generally, they are accustomed to preach during the festivals and public ceremonies. They are to be seen at the gates of the temples, on the road traversed by the car of Juggernaut, crushing its human victims under its blood-stained wheels,—on the banks of the Jumna, bearing along on its stream, all night long, rafts of straw carrying lamps lighted in honour of the goddess.

Some of them make it their special task to appeal to the women of the country. The seclusion of the Indian females is neither so general nor so strict as is commonly imagined in Europe. The wives of the princes and of some rich Mahometans very seldom

* The Mahars, who are considered the primitive inhabitants of the country, have preserved the idea of a God, one and indivisible. Some of them, when they heard the missionaries preach the Gospel, cried out: "This is exactly the doctrine which our masters teach us!" One of their sacred books declares that the worship of images is an innovation, and that a supreme Being should alone be worshipped.

leave the *gynæcium*, and they still have their faces covered with a veil; but they receive visits. As for the other females, they walk about the streets and public places at almost all hours of the day, and spend quite as much time outside the house as the men do. Sometimes a missionary preaching in the open air spies out one of these brown daughters of Eve looking out of a window, where she can listen all the time without being seen by the crowd. The married missionary possesses also an additional means of getting at these shy unbelievers; he has his wife by his side, and she can make her way into the houses, and sometimes into the palaces. There are some among the female helpers of the missionary who share with him even the ministerial office itself.

A report was spread at Ralmaiswi, forty-two miles from Nagpore, that a lady (Mrs. Cooper) had arrived there, who spoke the Mahratta language; more than 200 women went from the town to visit her in her tent; her husband was away at the time preaching in the bazaar, so she took advantage of the opportunity, and read and expounded the Bible to them. "We should not have dared to come," these women observed, "if the *sahib* had been a man; but as it is a person of our own sex, we can see no harm in gathering from her lips that which our husbands are listening to in the bazaar."

The missionaries with fixed residences belong mostly to the Church of England; some of them

live quite in the interior of the country, as for instance, Mr. Joseph Higgins, who came to settle, some five or six years ago, in the long valley of Budwail, shut in on all sides with dark hills covered with low-growing forests and rough bushes. The valley is flat, with lakes glittering in the tropical sun, and numerous villages half hidden by the tall tamarind and fig-trees which overshadow them. He lives there, almost the only European, amid a wild Hindoo population, the tribe of the Malas. His hut stands on the bank of a river in a gloomy district, far from any other habitation; it is, however, sheltered by a clump of fine trees, under which the missionary takes his daily walk, or sits in the evening to meditate. Many an Indian labourer, passing the house on his way to the village, stops and wonders at the sight of the *padre*, his head bent down over a book, or blackening paper with a pen full of ink, and thus engaged in occupations of which an Indian of the lower class can form no idea at all. At night, his window lighted up, and glimmering like a star amid the ocean of darkness overspreading the whole valley, inspires in those that see it a sort of mysterious dread. Yet this solitary hut enjoys its festivals; and where is the Englishman who, when merry-makings are talked about, does not at once turn his thoughts to Christmas?

On the eve of this great day, groups of men, women, and children, clothed in the most striking

colours—white robes with scarlet vests and turbans —arrive from the various Christian villages. Most of the women wear flowers in their hair, and the children are covered with garlands of marigolds and chrysanthemums. At night-fall, about 500 persons are collected together, and a little bell gives the signal for a religious service. Under a rustic verandah made of poles, supporting bushes covered with earth and surmounted with green boughs, they place a little table, in front of which the missionary sits, whilst the feeble light of a solitary lamp indistinctly marks the bronzed features of his silent audience. After the service, all disperse; some sing, and others dance; but most of them crowd round the *padre*, who shows them the wonders of his magic lantern. As a good many of these evening visitors come from villages fifteen or twenty miles distant, the missionary is bound to fulfil the duties of hospitality to them: will his poor means suffice for this? There need be no fear about it; these people are contented with very little; in the first place, they sleep in the open air, and some handfuls of rice, distributed to each group, are soon transformed into a repast quite sufficient for the frugal appetite of the Hindoo.

The next day, before day-break, the children sing their carols in the Telugu language, which, from its sweetness and elegance, has been styled the Italian of the East. Soon after dawn fresh villagers arrive, bringing the minister some little offerings,

such as fruit, honey, and balm. Then they all proceed to the church, a humble shed ornamented with garlands and festoons of flowers. In order the better to do honour to the festival, the missionary presents to the crowd two or three sheep, which he had kept in his stable for the occasion. The fires are lighted, and the women get the food ready; large leaves serve as plates, and the guests all sit down upon the grass for dinner. When this is over, all disperse, and the missionary is left alone with his solitude, and those touching reminiscences of his distant country which the Christmas plum-pudding is sure to awaken in the heart of an Englishman in every clime.

The Protestant missions of Great Britain extend to many other countries both of the Old and New Worlds; but they all present to us the same course of facts, with but slight shades of distinction. In every place the school and the church are helpful neighbours, for the savage who is converted to Christianity must learn to read his Bible. This *proviso*, however, is in many ways difficult to carry out, especially with adults. To overcome these obstacles, the Rev. R. Hunt, who has for a long time past exercised the functions of a missionary in Patagonia, has invented a new system of writing, which, it is said, will enable the most ignorant to read the Bible after a few lessons and some days' practice. This writing can be applied to all languages, so the author has given it the name of the universal or

Prebaþelic system. By way of antithesis to our contrivances and conventional signs, he styles his characters *natural letters*. It would be difficult to give an idea of this method to any one who had not its spelling-book before his eyes;* but it will suffice to state that it has had perfect success with the red-skin Indians; and also that in the North London Female Missionary Training Institution, by the help of these new signs, one hour has been sufficient to enable a pupil to read a language which had been hitherto entirely unknown to him. If we may put faith in Mr. Hunt's representations, every Englishwoman who can obtain access to Eastern females will be able in this way to teach them in a few visits to beguile, by means of reading, the oppressive *ennui* of their too idle life. He seems also to hope that this new and simple system of writing will, some day or other, displace our present printing characters, and will thus put an end to some of the obstacles which at present, even in schools, retard the mind of youth for so long a time.

Although the English missions are in so flourishing a state, they have nevertheless found many an opponent among our neighbours themselves. The following questions are often asked:—"Is the work that is being carried on worth the money and the

* The details of this discovery can be seen in the *Missionary News*, 15th March 1866.

efforts it is costing the nation? Have not the missionaries in certain cases sacrificed in behalf of their religion even the interests of humanity itself, by bringing war and discord into the bosom of a peaceful population?" These objections, the force of which certainly cannot be ignored, must not cause us to lose sight of the real good that they have done.

The Gospel-messengers have, by giving them a written form, afforded stability to many languages which, if they had been abandoned to oral tradition, would perhaps have soon disappeared; they have opened up regions hitherto unknown, and have prepared for future travellers a more favourable field of discovery, for the stranger is no longer an enemy to a savage converted to Christianity. Some English missionaries, guided by a wise discretion, have not been so eager at first to interfere in the religion of the natives as to attract them to the light by the influences of commerce, the love of comfort, and the fascinations of the useful arts. Is not every one on earth interested in circumscribing more and more the circle of barbarism and superstition? Ignorance alone is impious. English propagandism has, on the other hand, compelled the Asiatic nations to compare their dogmas with our own, and thus to link again the golden chain of sacred tradition. The Bible, offered to the inhabitants of India as the true *Veda*, has had perhaps to undergo various attacks; but the result has been a gain to the human intellect. Reli-

gion, in the form in which one loves to fancy her, must, like science, give heed to every record and to every tradition, and develop those gleams of the ideal which are diffused through all the forms of faith that brighten the face of the earth.

In this work I have refrained from at all deeply discussing the dogmas and forms of belief which at the present day are dividing thoughtful minds. The sphere of my studies did not embrace this subject; yet every one must recognise how much England owes to Protestantism. If a nation is to prosper and improve, it is necessary above all things that it should be unshackled in its relations with its God. When England, thanks to the Protestant Reformation, once for all separated herself from foreign spiritual domination, she took into her own charge her individuality, her genius, her resources, and her conscience. Her national character determined itself, whilst her religious opinions were throwing off their bonds. Let Great Britain rest then in her so-called heresy; it is her ancestral legacy and her strength. The Established Church possesses the rare merit of readily adapting herself to the complicated working of constitutional institutions. Her gravest reproach in France, let her rest assured, is her great wealth. Every class in the State has a right to aspire to fortune, especially if a generous use be made of it; but the Christian clergy have for their stronghold a book

which professes to despise worldly goods and worldly honours. In any case the accumulation of property can add nothing to the force of either men or institutions. The reliance, therefore, of the English clergy must be in their moral force, and in the first principle of the Reformation—I mean in liberty; and it is to these things that they must look as their source of strength. Their power does not lie in the traditions that they have treasured up of the past, but in their participation in the elements and aspirations of the future. Why should they fear discussion? The uniform silence of unity leads straight to despotism—the tomb of nations; and their religious discussion and inquiry conduce to progress, which, after all, is but the pursuit of light.

THE END.

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